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AUTHOR Ayers, Douglas; And Others
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ABSTRACT

The University of Victoria Program offers university-level courses mainly in the humanities and the social sciences to prisoners at Matsqui and Kent Institutions. Within this liberal arts approach there is a structural developmental thrust to promote cognitive and moral development and not simply to provide a general education or job skills. Evaluation showed two types of changes frequently reported by program students. The first had to do with the style of perceiving problems. Students reported that they could now consider issues from several points of view rather than from the single, ego-centric point of view typical of the prisoner. The second type of cognitive change reported was a greater awareness of the purposes and functions of society, its institutions, and the individual's roles in society. Three types of affective changes were reported by program students: a better understanding of one's self and interpersonal relations; expressions of commitment to study and learning; and an increase in self-esteem. A follow-up study was conducted to evaluate the longer term effects of the program on the subjects' lives and attitudes. The evaluation was based on data on the men's background and present life situation, statements by the men concerning the program and its effectiveness, and statistical inferences drawn from both these sources. The study assesses the significance of the reported changes and concludes that the program has had decisive influence with some of the men and has played a key role in encouraging and facilitating change and development in others. (KC)

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# EFFECTS OF UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA PROGRAM: A POST RELEASE STUDY

Douglas Ayers
Department of Educational Psychology
University of Victoria

Stephen Duguid
Department of History
University of Victoria

Catherine Montague
Sonia Wolowidnyk
Research Assistants

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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SUMMARY

The University of Victoria Program offers university level courses mainly in the humanities and the social sciences to prisoners at Matsqui and Kent Institutions. Within this liberal arts approach there is a structural developmental thrust to promote cognitive and moral development and not simply to provide a general education or job skills. It is assumed that prisoners are lacking in cognitive development, social skills and moral reasoning ability and that these deficits are related to the facts of their behaviour. Cognitive development of students is brought about primarily through the academic courses. Certain social skills are imparted through intensive interactions with a variety of staff and the university community that is encouraged to exist within the Academic Centres. Moral reasoning, the most difficult deficit to confront, is addressed through the totality of the Program, courses, staff, and peer pressure. All of this is aimed at, if not transformation of character, at least a significant growth in recognized levels of development in each of the areas. In this way an attempt is made to avoid the "educated criminal" as the end product.

Prior evaluations have been conducted annually based on interviews with students who had completed at least four months and not more than one year in the Program. These evaluations when compared with similar evaluations of other education programs, found students reporting significantly more cognitive and affective effects for the University of Victoria Program than for other programs including those involving university courses. In addition, nearly all of the effects for high school and up-grading programs were limited to educational effects such as learning a great deal about a subject.

There were two types of cognitive changes frequently reported by Program students. The first had to do with the style of perceiving problems. Students reported that they could not consider issues from several points of view rather than the single, ego-centric point of view typical of the prisoner. The second type of cognitive

change reported was a greater awareness of the purposes and functions of society, its institutions and the individual's roles in society. These changes appear to be brought about primarily through the discussion of social, political and ethical issues that arise in humanities and social science courses.

There were three types of affective changes reported by Program students. The first had to do with reporting a better understanding of one's self and one's interpersonal relations. These changes seem to be associated with formal psychology courses, particularly those dealing with human relations, the study of plays in literature, and drama. Another type of affective change involved statements of expressions of commitment to study and learning which frequently included a note that nothing before had ever involved them to the same extent. This change was recognized by some as a commitment. Finally, there are a number of students that indicated more confidence or ah increase in self-esteem. These statements are usually reported at the end of the first term, and only infrequently by students who had been in the Program for longer periods of time.

The basic question that arises from these self-reports is whether the effects are permanent and long-term or fragile and short-term. This follow-up study was conducted to evaluate the longer term effects of the University of Victoria Program on the subjects' lives and attitudes.

The evaluation is based on three types of information: (1) data on the men's background and present life situation, (2) statements by the men concerning the Program and its effectiveness, and (3) statistical inferences drawn from both these sources.

The data indicate an unemployment rate of only 3 per cent, considerable change in residential, marital and friendship patterns, and a reincarceration rate of only 14 per cent. See Table 26 on page 51. Statements made by the men on the questionnaire and in the interviews demonstrate cognitive growth and increasing sophistication of thought and reasoning ability. They report changes in attitude toward politics, the law, criminal behaviour, friendship; changes which they report

as crucial to their new-found ability to cope with the stress of living in society. In most cases, the respondents attribute these attitude changes to their experience in the Program. The study assesses the significance of the reported changes and concludes that the Program has, in fact, had a decisive influence with some of the men and has played a key role in encouraging and facilitating change and development in others.

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Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

The Introduction will deal with three aspects of the report: a review of the research on post-secondary prison education programs, a description of the University of Victoria Program at Abbotsford and Agassiz/New Westminster (UVic Program) and its special characteristics, and a detailed explanation of how the study was conducted.

### Review of Post-secondary Educational Programs

Within the last twenty years in American prisons, and within the last ten years in British and Canadian prisons, there has been an increasing number and variety of college programs established. These efforts have ranged from offering traditional correspondence courses, and in the case of Great Britain, Open University courses, to establishing structured programs within prison walls, usually by developing some formal relationship with outside academic institutions. The prisons, themselves, are not the only initiators. Academic institutions as well have demonstrated an interest in this area. More recently, colleges have also begun to offer special opportunities to ex-prisoners on their own campuses. By the mid-seventies, three universities offered courses in Canada: the Open University offered courses at a number of prisons in Great Britain; and many state and federal institutions in the United States offered post-secondary programs.

Several studies have reported on the value and effects of college and university programs while the students were still in prison. Only a few have actually followed prisoners into the community, as reported in this study. For example, McCollum (1975, 1976) in reviews of post-secondary programs in a number of countries, particularly the United States, reported that most people who work with prisoners can relate impressive anecdotes about individuals who have continued their post-secondary studies after release. However, except for isolated follow-up studies, significant data is not available on the effects of these programs.

Forster (1977) interviewed 53 students taking higher education courses, mostly with the Open University, in a variety of prisons in

Great Britain and concluded that basic education and vocational training add to an inmate's social and occupational skills. Forster concludes that higher education courses can have at least four other effects:

1. at a profound level, change a man's sense of values;
2. enhance a prisoner's self-image;
3. enable a long-term prisoner to cope with his sentence, and
4. in the case of the previously qualified prisoner, provide him with a path towards rehabilitation.

Parlett, Ayers, & Sullivan (1975) reported that interview data provided strong evidence that the University of Victoria Program was effective in changing attitudes and values. More than one-third of the experimental subjects made comments indicative of a more mature, rational approach to the solution of problems. Twenty per cent indicated a greater understanding of society's institutions and their roles in them. More than half expressed beliefs that interpersonal relations had improved and fifty per cent had developed realistic goals. More recently Ayers (1980b) summarized the results of three surveys based on interviews of students in a variety of educational programs offered in Canadian, British, and American prisons. These student-prisoners made very positive statements about the educational effects of most courses and programs. However, statements reflecting changes in ways of thinking and in interpersonal relations were usually only reported for university courses and a few community college or life skills courses.

The most comprehensive program evaluation was conducted on Project Newgate in the United States. Project Newgate was a national program providing university courses at six state penitentiaries. The Project had full-time staff in each institution and provided preparatory work in addition to college-level courses. In addition, both pre and post release counseling was available to inmates and several of the institutions established housing facilities for students in study release programs. Financial aid was available to inmates who wished to continue their education after release.

There have been several evaluations of the Newgate Project, the most comprehensive by Seashore and her collaborators (1976) which

compared the Newgate program in five institutions with three non-Newgate college programs and with a comparison sample drawn from inmates released from the same institutions who had not participated in the Newgate program. The latter group was selected from inmates who were academically qualified for the program but who did not participate, while those selected for comparison groups were inmates from the general population who were matched with Newgate participants, matched for age, IQ, prior education and time served.

In considering a measure of effectiveness, the Seashore group felt that recividism alone was not satisfactory as there are too many elements to post-prison adjustment besides recividism that are important, and because reincarceration may not even be a good indicator of reinvolvement in crime. They, therefore, developed a composite measure consisting of success in achieving a stable life-style, degree to which life goals were realized, and recividism. On the composite index, there was no evidence that program participation lead to a significantly more successful post-prison career. The group that had the highest success ratio (but not statistically significant) placed greater emphasis on transitional and post-release services than the other group. In addition, institutional administrators were committed to the program and the state university was more involved, both in teaching and in admitting parolees to regular academic programs. As with the composite index, there were no significant differences on achieving stability, realizing life goals, or recidivism. In earlier evaluations of the Newgate program, Baker (1973) concluded that therapeutic counseling was ineffective and proposed that a program with a college atmosphere, plus a post-release program with optional complementary support, would probably be most effective. Kaplan, Gans & Kahn (1973) found that Newgate students had a wide variety of problems; including continued identification as an offender, lack of emotional as well as support systems, overly intensive parole supervision, and time gaps between release and college enrolment. The studies of the Newgate Project seem to imply that the educational programs must be comprehensive, involve the students for a period of time, and ensure that there is not too much of a time gap between course completion and release, whether to a job or to further education.

The research on university programs in prisons has been quite limited. However, there does seem to be a thread connecting all the studies. It is that the programs have had a major impact on the cognitive thinking of many of the participants. In addition, in the Newgate study, the one of the six programs that had the most effect was the most coherent, organized, and structured, supporting one of the findings in the surveys of prison education programs in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada (Ayers, 1980b).

The University of Victoria Program and Its Purposes

From its inception in 1972, the University of Victoria Program has maintained a commitment to four primary goals:

1. Develop more awareness of the problems and issues in society generally and, hopefully, incorporate more mature values using particularly English and history courses as vehicles for such development.
2. Bring about certain attitude and personality changes that will prepare students to cope successfully with society and its institutions, in particular, develop skill to take alternative views in discussion of issues, to suspend judgment; to understand society's institutions and their rights and responsibilities as citizens.
3. Make students more self-confident and better able to express themselves.
4. Provide students with the basis for further education--vocational, technological, academic or cultural. This basis for continuing education includes the development of the necessary work and study habits and confidence to pursue further education. A subsidiary outcome is to make the student more employable and better able to hold a job.

To achieve these goals the Program employs a developmental approach based on an interactional model of human growth and maturation. This model is based on theories of Piaget and Dewey and is supported by studies of the University of Victoria Program by Ayers (1979) (1980b), and Duguid (1979, 1980), and the work of Kohlberg (1969), Tapp (1971), and Scharf (1976), among others. In the University model it is assumed that adult prisoners simply have deficits in cognitive development and moral/ethical reasoning, that these deficits are a causal factor in decisions to commit criminal acts and that they are best dealt with through a process of habilitation rather than rehabilitation, that is, development rather than transformation (Ayers 1980b).

The Program is a much more complex undertaking than may be apparent to a visitor. It operates at three levels, each related to the other and yet quite distinct. The most visible and obvious function of the University of Victoria Program is the offering of university level courses in the humanities and social sciences to prisoners at Matsqui and Kent Institutions. Starting eight years ago with only a few courses in English, history, psychology and sociology the Program has expanded to include a full range of courses in these fields, plus anthropology as well as individual courses in a variety of other disciplines such as philosophy, theatre, biology, and mathematics. For the past four years a Bachelor of Arts degree has been offered prisoner/students who are unable to transfer to a university campus. All courses are fully accredited and may be transferred to any university in Canada. While not aimed at providing specific post-secondary vocational training, the Program does provide a general education to the level of a B.A. degree and thus allows many students an opportunity for a career change.

The second level on which the Program operates if centered on the theory of human change or development which lies at the very base of the Program. Besides offering post-secondary education for career change or advancement, the major thrust is in using this educational process to further a more complex process of development within the students in the Program. The cognitive development implicit in the formal academic part of the Program is a necessary prerequisite to moral and social development, but for the latter to take place the courses must also include a moral or ethical dimension. This moral/ethical dimension is built into the content of the academic courses and has dictated the emphasis on English and history as the core disciplines of the Program. As our studies and others have shown, both these disciplines provide ideal vehicles for the discussion and elaboration of moral/ethical issues and forums for the debate of those issues (Parlett, Ayers & Sullivan, 1975; Trow, 1976; and Duigid, 1979). Likewise in the social sciences, instructors are encouraged to structure their courses around issues and allow for a free flow of debate and discussion on the moral/ethical problems so inevitably present in those disciplines.

Finally, the third level at which the program operates concerns the creation of a sense of an alternative community. The aim is to acquaint the prisoner/student with an alternative set of social relationships with individuals unlike those he may have known before, and with ideas and social practices which challenge long held beliefs. This is done in several ways. The first requirement is as much isolation as possible from the institution itself since its personnel and practices simply mirror the moral and physical world the students are familiar with. Secondly, the staff of the program are neither the same as nor aloof from the world of the prisoner/student. Instructors seek neither to idolize nor condemn the self-view of the prisoner, but rather to challenge it in order to encourage self-directed change. Thirdly, instructors try to expose the prisoner/student to as much input as possible that is new or out of the ordinary, including quality films, alternative music, art and current events. Finally, a definite attempt is made to create a sense of community by encouraging the development of corporate responsibility through student councils, teaching assistants, group decision-making and a general refusal to let institutional politics or mores govern life within the university area. In addition, it is recognized that the sense of being part of a group and the encouragement and support of one prisoner of another further contributes to the promotion of cognitive learning and social development.

The University of Victoria Program differs from all other post-secondary programs in that it has clear goals above that involve more than pursuing further education, a core of instructors who are full-time participants in the alternative community and students who are assigned full-time to the centre.

Since the ultimate, and ideal, aim of a developmental program must be changed social behavior, experience in linking growth in moral/ethical reasoning and changed attitudes with social action is essential. Compliance with rules in the prison is quite common, though it is mostly forced compliance. What the university alternative community seeks is more extensive; ideally that students in the Program take the point of view of the group as an "abstract collectivity" (Scharf, 1976). As Tapp and Kohlberg (1971) argue, such a process of role-taking and

participation is essential to internalization:

> We would argue that experience-based activity involving conflict resolution, problem solving, participation in decision-making and role-taking opportunities beget compliance and independence of more than an uncritical law and order sort. Educational experiences of conflict and participation extend the human's capacity to differentiate and integrate and to contemplate different points of view, in other words, to develop principles for evaluating 'right' and 'wrong' and perfecting a sense of responsibility, obligation, law, and justice (p. 86).

The University of Victoria Program contains within it these ideals as well as the commitment to providing its students with the cognitive skills to more adequately make life-decisions and the social and technical skills to more adequately integrate themselves into society.

To review, it is believed that the Program presents several coherent and interrelated components with sound theoretical bases and recognized empirical validity. Through the medium of university liberal arts courses and the structure and support of the alternative community, the aim is to affect moral reasoning. Since moral reasoning is, after all, reasoning, the importance of the educational, i.e. cognitive aspect of the Program is stressed. It is recognized, however, that cognitive development remains a necessary but not sufficient condition for moral and social development.

Nature and Scope of the Study

Previous internal evaluations of the Program have indicated significant cognitive and affective changes in students during the first year in the Program. This study is aimed at determining if the effects are fragile and limited, or significant and long-term by conducting a follow-up study of former participants of the Program. The major strength of the study is that it is based not only on demographic data but also on what former students have told us about their experiences and what they think these experiences have meant to them. It, therefore, combines a demographic sociological approach with a phenomenological approach. Moreover, since there have been many criticisms of using recividism and demographic data to measure the effectiveness

of programs that have to do with both internal and external validity (Maltz & McCleary, 1977; Seashore, Haberfeld, Irwin & Baker, 1976), recividism is looked at in terms of reincarceration, particularly the factors that seem to reduce reincarceration. Also, since educational experience is typically very personal, the follow-up procedures were designed to get to the heart of the matter, the former students' own perceptions of their experiences. In our opinion, this is best achieved by an evaluation that involved program staff that were known and trusted, and research assistants who were unfamiliar, at least initially, with the specific goals of the Program.

A copy of the standard questionnaire and a sample interview report may be found in Appendix A. The questionnaire, in addition to gathering certain demographic and sociological data, as well as reports on employment, education, and leisure, attempted to determine how most of these aspects differed from the situation prior to incarceration. In addition, there were a series of questions which attempted to determine if the students' perceptions of the world had changed and if so, what factors had contributed to the change. The specific questions used in the study are contained in the questionnaire form reported in Appendix A.

The basic research design has combined a variety of methods for gathering data. In addition to the basic questionnaire which the former students completed, the interviewer described her perceptions of each student and his situation immediately following the contact with the student. In addition, background data on each participant was gathered from records and coded. This information included:

1. Age
2. Type of offence
3. Term - last aggregate sentence
4. Employed at time of last conviction?
5. Any addiction (of any kind) since last sentence
6. Educational level upon imprisonment
7. Family history in regard to: alcoholic parents
   criminal history of parents
   orphan, foster homes
   raised by other relatives
   place of birth
8. Whether Canadian or other
9. Last occupation before entry into prison
10. Marital status

11. Recividism - whether back in, what charge
12. Type of release, date
13. Whether first offence
14. Recividism Prediction Score
15. Nuffield Prediction of Recividism
16. Male Base Expectancy Scoring System

Sample and Procedure

In the initial planning for the study, it was decided to include as many former students as possible because it was recognized that the total number would be less than 100 and that sampling would therefore not be feasible. The criteria used and the reasons for them follows:

1. Subjects must have completed at least two courses totalling three units.
2. Subjects must have completed at least two terms or about about seven and one-half months.

   (It was assumed that if students did not complete two courses and stay in the Program at least seven and one-half months, there was insufficient participation to attribute effects to the Program and not to other factors. It is interesting to note that only one person who completed a 1½ unit course in one term failed to complete 2 courses and remain in the Program for 2 terms.)
3. Subjects had to be released at least six months prior to the conclusion of the study and not more than three and one-half years, that is, from April 1, 1976 to October 1, 1979.

   (Most parole violations and reincarcerations occur within the first two years after release. Moreover, subjects would likely be more difficult to find the farther from release date, especially if as predicted, former students tend to establish new lives in new communities. In addition, recollection of prior events fades with time. However, a three and one-half year period would allow for trends over time, if any, to show in the data collected.

The questionnaire was designed to be self-administering as it was recognized that a number of students would have to be contacted by mail. Also, it was important to ensure that basic information critical to the follow-up was collected in as standardized a form as possible. There were several types of data collected: demographic-sociological (Items 1 to 4. See Questionnaire form in Appendix A); employment, education and leisure data (Items 5 to 10); and finally perceptions of the effect of the Program on the respondent (Items 11 to 16).

It was also recognized that there could be unanticipated

side-effects and that the person contacting the former students could bias the results. To this end, it was decided to employ an interviewer who had no prior connection or knowledge of the Program to act as a neutral observer and to collect any additional information volunteered by the subjects. Appendix A contains the report of the independent interviewer.

Of the 65 subjects who met the above criteria, 33 were interviewed and 7 returned questionnaires in the period October 15-April 1. This constitutes the "Interviewed Group" of 40 respondents dealt with in detail in this report. The remainder of the Eligible Group was composed of 25 non-respondents who were classified as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Deceased . . . . . | 1 |
| Refused interview . . . . . | 3 |
| Contacted by phone but failed to return questionnaire . . . . . | 2 |
| Questionnaire mailed to last known address and returned undelivered . . | 5 |
| Questionnaire mailed to last known address and not returned . . . . . | 6 |
| Address available, but no trail . . . | 5 |
| No address available . . . . . | 3 |

The Interviewed Group is, on the whole, quite similar to the Eligible Group of 65 on most of the variables used in the study, as will be shown below.

The third criteria "released for six months" was originally interpreted strictly so that those still on day parole as of October 1, 1979 and those who had been reincarcerated within six months of release were excluded from the Eligible Group to be contacted for interviews. However, in order to obtain an accurate picture of reincarceration, eight additional cases were included to obtain the Total Group, shown in Table 1. The Total Group is used only in PART III in the section dealing with reincarceration. The remainder of the report deals with Eligible and Interviewed Groups. Six of the eight were still on day release as of October 1, 1979, two from camps and four from half-way houses. One had been on day release from April to June 1979 and was unlawfully at large. The last was paroled in September and reincarcerated after committing a new offence.

Table 1

Distribution of Subjects in Total Group
by Type of Release

| Dates of Release | Time Since Release | Types of Release | | | All Releases |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | M/S* | Parole | Day Parole | |
| Apr. 76-Sept. 76 | 42 - 47 mon | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Oct. 76-Mar. 77 | 36 - 41 mon | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Apr. 77-Sept. 77 | 30 - 35 mon | 5 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| Oct. 77-Mar. 78 | 24 - 29 mon | 4 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| Apr. 78-Sept. 78 | 18 - 23 mon | 9 | 5 | 6 | 20 |
| Oct. 78-Mar. 79 | 12 - 17 mon | 6 | 6 | 6 | 18 |
| Apr. 79-Oct. 79 | 6 - 11 mon | 2 | 2 | 12 | 16 |
| Total | | 27 | 20 | 26 | 73 |

* Mandatory Supervision

To determine how typical the Eligible and Total Groups are of the prison population at Matsqui Institution, a research assistant was employed to select a Matched Group. Three criteria were used in the selection of this Group:

1. Subjects must have spent at least eight months at Matsqui Institution and been released in the Pacific Region from Matsqui.
2. Subjects must not have enrolled in the University of Victoria Program while in Matsqui Institution or the B.C. Penitentiary.
3. Type of release must match the Eligible Group's type of release and time of release must be as close as possible within each six month time frame from April 1, 1976 to October 1979.

Selection of Matched Group

Records at Matsqui Institution concerning admissions and releases were consulted and 161 names selected based on date and type of release. No other information was used in selecting the initial group of names. Following this step, the names were checked to eliminate those men who had not spent at least 8 months at Matsqui Institution. This process eliminated 31 names, leaving 130. Staff from the University of Victoria Program then eliminated 18 names of men who had had some contact with the University Program, leaving 112 possible names for the Matched Group. The final 73 names were selected by matching type of release and the closest possible day of release. The remaining 39 names remained as an alternative list. The alternative list was used in three cases:

1. Two files were not available for any type of study and matched alternatives were chosen.
2. One file indicated that the subject had taken university courses at the B.C. Penitentiary, so an alternative match was chosen.

Table 2 shows that over 60 per cent were matched within one month by date of release.

Table 2
Number and Per Cent Distribution of Subjects Matched with Total Group by Date of Release

| Match for Date of Release | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Exact Month | 25 | 35 |
| 1 Month | 20 | 27 |
| ±2 Months | 14 | 19 |
| ±3 Months | 8 | 11 |
| ±4 Months | 6 | 8 |
| Total | 73 | 100 |

Comparison of Interviewed Group, Eligible Group, and Matched Group

Information used in comparing the three groups was compiled from a variety of secondary sources, including records at Matsqui Institution, the Regional Transfer Board, Regional Headquarters in Abbotsford, various Parole Offices and files obtained from National Headquarters in Ottawa. Unfortunately, despite a great deal of co-operation at all levels, some files from Ottawa could not be obtained in time for the data to be reported in this study. On some of the variables studies, therefore, the number reported will be less than the total for that group. For example in Table 3, data on age was

Table 3

Number and Percent Distribution of Subjects by Age for Interviewed Group, Eligible Group and Matched Group

| Age in Years | Interviewed Group | | Eligible Group | | Matched Group | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 15 - 19.99 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 - 24.99 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 8 |
| 25 - 29.99 | 8 | 20 | 15 | 23 | 16 | 24 |
| 30 - 34.99 | 17 | 43 | 23 | 35 | 19 | 29 |
| 35 - 39.99 | 4 | 10 | 9 | 14 | 9 | 14 |
| 40 - 44.99 | 5 | 13 | 7 | 11 | 9 | 14 |
| 45 - 49.99 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 6 |
| 50+ | 2 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| All Ages | 40 | 100 | 65 | 100 | 65 | 100 |
| Mean | 34.1 yrs. | | 34.12 yrs. | | 34.32 yrs. | |
| Median | 32.5 | | 32.5 | | 33 | |
| Range | 23-60 | | 23-60 | | 21-64 | |

$\chi^2_6 = .80$, n.s. (Goodness of Fit Test between Eligible and Eligible and Matched Group)

available on some of the institutional records but for Highest Grade Completed in Table 4, 2 of the 40 files for the Interviewed Group, and 11 of the Eligible Group were not available. There is no reason to believe that the missing data would alter the proportions reported in any particular direction. They were simply the older files that had been forwarded to the Ottawa Archives.

The data reported in Table 3 show that there is no significant variation in the age distribution for any of the Groups under study.

The data on level of education prior to incarceration, shown in Table 4, however, indicates a significant difference in educational background between the Eligible and Matched Groups with the latter group having more Grade 8 and below, and several who have completed high school. It is important to note, however, that 65 per cent of the Eligible Group of university students had not completed high school, and 25 per cent were Grade 8 or below, prior to enrolment in the University Program in prison.

Table 4

Number and Percent Distribution of Subjects by Highest Grade Completed for Interviewed Group, Eligible Group and Matched Group

| Highest Grade Completed | Interviewed Group | | Eligible Group | | Matched Group | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Grade 8 & Below | 9 | 24 | 14 | 26 | 23 | 50 |
| Some High School | 15 | 39 | 21 | 39 | 20 | 43 |
| High School Grad | 8 | 21 | 11 | 20 | 3 | 7 |
| Some Post-Sec. | 6 | 16 | 7 | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 or more years Post-Sec. | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| All Grades | 38 | 100 | 54 | 100 | 46 | 100 |
| Mean | 10.4 | | 10.27 | | 8.45 | |
| Median | 10 | | 10 | | 8 | |

$\chi^2_3 = 15.5$, $p < .01$ (Goodness of Fit Test between Eligible and Matched Group)

Table 5 classifies the subjects in the three groups by type of offence committed. It is recognized that there are difficulties in obtaining a clear classification for a variety of reasons, including the frequency of multiple offences. As there is no clear system available, the classification was done by most serious offence, taking into account the pattern of prior offences. When compared by nature of offence, a higher proportion of the Eligible Group were incarcerated for drug-related offences than the Matched Group, while well over half of the Matched Group committed offences related to robbery or break and entry, compared with only 38 per cent for the Eligible Group.

Table 5

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Interviewed Group, Eligible Group and Matched Group by Type of Offence

| Type of Offence | Interviewed Group | | Eligible Group | | Matched Group | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 1. Assault/Robbery/ Armed Robbery | 11 | 27 | 17 | 26 | 24 | 38 |
| 2. Poss/Traff Narc/ Imp Narc | 23 | 57 | 32 | 49 | 20 | 31 |
| 3. Rape/Ind Assault | 2 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 5 |
| 4. Murder/Att Murder Manslaughter | 2 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 6 |
| 5. BE & T, I, or C | 1 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 11 | 17 |
| 6. Forgery/Fraud | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 40 | 100 | 65 | 100 | 64 | 100 |

$\chi^2_2 = 5.15$, $p < .025$ (Offences dichotomized 1,3,4,5/2 and Groups, Matched/Eligible)

The subjects were also studied for records of drug and alcohol use. This proved to be a somewhat difficult category as there are so many variations in classification among the sources used. While many men displayed a prediliction for use of more than one drug, or for use of drugs and alcohol, a judgment was made as to which was the more consistent or serious form of addiction or excessive use. The results shown in Table 6 indicate more opiate users and "other" drug users in the Eligible Group and more alcohol users in the Matched Group.

Table 6

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Interviewed Group, Eligible Group and Matched Group by Drug and Alcohol Use

| Drug & Alcohol Use | Interviewed Group | | Eligible Group | | Matched Group | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Opiates Only | 21 | 52 | 31 | 56 | 10 | 21 |
| Opiates & Alcohol | 2 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 16 | 34 |
| Alcohol Only | 2 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 13 | 28 |
| Non-Opiates Only | 6 | 15 | 9 | 17 | 2 | 4 |
| No Use Drugs/Alcohol | 9 | 23 | 9 | 17 | 6 | 13 |
| Total | 40 | 100 | 55 | 100 | 47 | 100 |

$\chi^2_4 = 26.94$, $p < .001$ (Goodness of Fit between Eligible and Matched Group)

Length of sentence distributions for the three groups are reported in Table 7. As far as length of sentence is concerned, it shows that there is no difference between groups. Prior to this study, it has been assumed that educational programs, especially those like the University of Victoria Program, appeal to the long-term prisoners because they report that enrolment in an educational program is a way of doing "good time" both in the sense of being personally involved and of making the time pass more quickly.

Table 7

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Interviewed Group, Eligible Group and Matched Group by Length of Sentence

| Aggregate Sentence In Years | Interviewed Group | | Eligible Group | | Matched Group | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 0 - 5 | 18 | 44 | 31 | 48 | 35 | 55 |
| 6 - 10 | 15 | 38 | 21 | 32 | 20 | 31 |
| 11 - 15 | 5 | 13 | 8 | 12 | 2 | 3 |
| 16 - 20 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Life | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| Prev. Det. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 40 | 100 | 65 | 100 | 64 | 100 |

$\chi^2_2 = 2.0$, n.s. (Goodness of Fit between Eligible and Matched Groups with sentences 11 years and up combined)

The Eligible Group and the Matched Group were compared in terms of number of prior arrests, number of imprisonments, and criminal history in the family. On each of the three variables, the Matched Group had a slightly higher percentage of previous involvement in crime, but the differences were not significant.

Finally, the Eligible Group and the Matched Group were compared using the Base Expectancy Scale (BES) and the Recidivism Prediction Score (RPS). The Eligible Group appears to have scored somewhat higher on both scales in terms of predicted post-release success as is shown in Table 8. However, the differences were not significant and in fact neither group showed much promise on these measures.

Table 8

Distribution of Eligible Group and Matched Group by Base Expectancy Scale and Recidivism Prediction Score

Matched Group

| | Recidivism Prediction Scale | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Base Expectancy | Poor | Fair Poor | Fair | Good | Very Good | Total |
| Low | 13 | 6 | 10 | 5 | | 34 |
| Medium | 3 | | 4 | 5 | 8 | 20 |
| High | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 16 | 6 | 14 | 10 | 9 | 55 |

Eligible Group

| | Recidivism Prediction Scale | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Base Expectancy | Poor | Fair Poor | Fair | Good | Very Good | Total |
| Low | 5 | 9 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 28 |
| Medium | 1 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 17 |
| High | | | | | 6 | 6 |
| Total | 6 | 10 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 51 |

For Base Expectancy $\chi^2_2 = 3.93$, n.s.

For Recidivism Prediction Scale $\chi^2_4 = 5.90$, n.s.

Adequacy of Match

The University of Victoria Program by its very nature involves a high degree of self-selection in its membership. Admission is voluntary, but success in the Program requires a certain level of ability which accounts for the higher pre-incarceration grade levels of the Eligible Group.

In this respect, the Eligible Group from the University Program appears to start out with some advantage in terms of possible future success of its students. On the other hand, there may not be any real advantage but rather the opposite because the Eligible Group had significantly more drug addicts, both narcotic and other, confirmed by more involvement in drug offences. Overall, however, there were no differences between the groups on age, length of sentence, prior criminal activities, and on the two expectancy of success indexes. On the whole, then, there is a fairly good match between the Eligible And Matched Groups considering there were only 112 cases from which to select for the same offence and release date.

This finding of no difference between the Eligible and Matched Groups on the Base Expectancy Scale and the Recividism Prediction Score is somewhat surprising because both indices are weighted positively for education and it was shown above that the Eligible Group had significantly more education than the Matched Group (Table 4). Apparently the positive aspects of education in the Eligible Group must be counteracted by negative factors such as drug addiction.

Variables Employed in Reporting

In tabulating the data in the questionnaires and interviews, eight different variables are employed. They include:

1. Units earned in University Program
2. Age
3. Type of Offence
4. Drug or alcohol use
5. BES (Base Expectancy Scale)
6. RPS (Recividism Prediction Scale)
7. Length of time between last enrolment and release
8. Development Rating

The last variable, Development Rating, requires some explanation. For the last four years the Coordinator and Assistant Coordinator of the Program at Matsqui Institution have been rating each student's academic and personal growth or development at the conclusion of each four month academic term. Two general criteria are used in this assessment process:

1. The degree and viability of stated commitment to goal or career change connected with participation in the University Program.

2. The degree of role change shown by the student in his academic work and, more importantly, in his activities outside the classroom.

A scale was developed that provided sufficient differentiation to allow for some degree of movement for students continuing in the Program for a number of academic terms. Representing increasing degrees of change, the categories are:

C-1: No apparent areas of academic interest coupled with a manipulative attitude toward the Program. Primary motivation to avoid the discipline of other work locations.

C-2: Generally at least one area of academic interest but little attitude change. Cynicism predominates along with a tendency toward manipulation of Program for personal ends.

C-3: Indication of interest in higher education per se, consistent involvement in courses and consideration of career change, but no commitment. Some intermittent indication of attitude change.

B-1: Positive stance toward participation in program but for primarily personal growth or improvement. No stated career goals. Escape from "monotony and vulgarity of prison life" a strong motivation for academic work.

B-2: Clear and viable career plans being formulated along with active participation in all aspects of the University Program.

A: Expression of desire to alter career pattern through education. Definite changes in attitude toward Program and peers. General acceptance of "student role" and rejection of "convict role".

The development process can be seen not only as including cognitive development, but also as a form of socialization, a general movement toward acceptance of the values and customs of the community as it is manifested in the academic centre in the prison, with a corresponding sense of alienation from the values and customs of the prison and other prisoners.

# PART II

## PERCEPTIONS OF ATTITUDE CHANGES

This part of the report evaluates and analyzes the degree of attitudinal growth indicated in the responses to the questionnaires and interviews. The responses are divided into two areas, one 'social' and the other 'personal'. The social questions refer to the general issue of the individual's relation to authority, especially law, politics and power. It is widely acknowledged, indeed self-evident, that criminals have particular problems with these aspects of social relations. The personal questions refer to attitudes toward family and friends, both crucial support mechanisms for successful re-integration into society. The approach is phenomenological, letting the men's responses speak for themselves.

### Cognitive Development

It is the specific approach of the University of Victoria Program that attitude change and the closely linked development of moral reasoning ability both require cognitive development as their base. It is reasonable to assume that such cognitive development would result from successful completion of university courses. Program teaching staff interviewed during this study consistently reported that their classes were of high quality, that the prisoner/students were among the best they had taught and that many individual students in the Program showed remarkable intellectual growth during their tenure in the Program.

Cognitive development is demonstrated on the one hand by successful completion of university level courses, the average for the Eligible Group being seven courses, equivalent to one and a half years of university. A high level of cognitive development was also apparent in the prisoner/students' written responses on the questionnaire. Only four of the respondents wrote virtually no textual responses. The quotations that will be used throughout this report indicate a relatively high degree of sophistication of thought and use of language. In looking for statistical evidence for this cognitive development, the questionnaire was analyzed for word usage. It was discovered that 75 per cent of the respondents used words which in context had a clear cognitive

interpretation. The words chosen for analysis were: insight, understanding, awareness, recognition and appreciation and were scored only when used in the context of the "program increasing or facilitating". The use of these words did not vary with length of tenure in the Program, which is indicated in Table 9. These terms occur 102 times in the

Table 9

Number and Per Cent of Respondents Using Cognitive Terms by Units Earned

| Units Earned | Size of Group | Cognitive Terms Used | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % |
| 3.0 - 12.5 | 8 | 6 | 75 |
| 13.5 - 19.0 | 9 | 7 | 77 |
| 20.0 - 28.5 | 10 | 7 | 70 |
| 30 or more | 9 | 7 | 77 |
| Total | 36 | 27 | 75 |

questionnaires, an average of 2.8 times each and a median of 4. It should be mentioned that the use of affective terms such as "tolerance", "openness", or "perspective", while present in the questionnaires, was not as frequent as that noted for the cognitive terms.

There is, of course, no causative inevitability between cognitive development and social behaviour, authorities such as Kohlberg (1973) seeing the former as a necessary but not sufficient factor in affecting such behaviours. The mediating factor between reason and behaviour can be a sense of ethics, the development of moral reasoning, or, more generally, an attitude. The cognitive determines how one sees the world; the ethical/moral/attitudinal determines how one interprets that world. Specific behaviour arise from that interpretation of social reality.

Law, Politics and Power

Most of the respondents, 75 per cent, commented on the questions referring to perceptions of politics and power relations in society. The comments appear to indicate that a strong process of politicization is at work within the University Program, especially in terms of a growth of political awareness. This process, according to Kohlberg (1975) and Scharf (1976), is crucial to the development of moral reasoning and can lead to the lessening of the moral alienation of the criminal from society.

On the general issue of political awareness, typical comments were as follows:

> More interested and concerned with politics now than before entering the penitentiary system and the U-Vic Program.
>
> Much more interested in and aware of local, national and international scene.
>
> I am less complacent and apathetic - certainly more politically aware.
>
> Before my experience in the U-Vic Program, I had NO idea (or interest) in the functions of politics. Now I have at least some idea, and interest.

On the more specific issue of understanding how politics work and how power is dealt with in society, there were many comments; for example:

> The Program gave me a great deal more insight into power structures - how people use power and why.
>
> The Program gave me a very basic idea of how politics are supposed to function and provided an historical perspective of relations between people and institutions.
>
> The courses showed me the complexity of relations between people and institutions and gave me a much better grasp of the economic and ideological content of the political environment.
>
> Program gave me a basic understanding of the psychological and sociological aspects of the power structure.
>
> Prior to the Program I saw myself and other criminals against society and myself against other criminals. The Program did away with this tunnel vision.
>
> Because the Program helped develop my ability to think, I now understand the nature of power relations.

The cognitive development implicit in these statements is clear. The men are "more aware", "understand", and have "greater insight". Even more important, there is a real comprehension of the complexity of issues in politics and power and a new understanding of where the individual fits into that complex matrix. This is especially important when contrasted to the more common egocentric and simplistic world views of most criminals and other individuals at a low stage of cognitive/moral development (Ayers, 1974, 1975a, 1975b; Duguid, 1980).

Perhaps most important, in these statements and others there are indications of a growth in the ability to see behind the superficial aspects of power and begin to understand how it actually operates. This ability, the capacity for empathetic imagination, is seen as crucial to moral reasoning (Jones, 1976).

For a few respondents, 13 per cent, there was an expressed commitment to involvement in politics and an appreciation of how political change is brought about in a democratic society:

> I learned how to manipulate the power structure of an institution through cooperation with individuals. Learned that real power lies with the people.
>
> I now take an active part in the political process. I've learned that confrontation usually produces nothing but polarized viewpoints that make compromise, or any solution, difficult at best. Persuasion and rational debate now seem to resolve issues the best.
>
> The Program provided guidelines by which power relations could be measured and the incentive to change these relations. That change must be brought about by involvement, not by standing on the outside.
>
> Program enables me to understand who holds power in any situation and how to better obtain what I need without having to directly take it.

All of these men had completed more than 15 units of credit in the Program and all were "A" or "B" on the Development Rating, that is, they were amongst those who appeared to have made significant attitudinal changes while in the Program.

The questionnaire did not specifically ask the respondents to evaluate the nature of their feelings about politics or to define their political beliefs; however, some of the men volunteered this information. Of the 30 responses to the questions on politics and power, 27 per cent

expressed a shift toward a "more liberal" perspective and another 27 per cent expressed a higher degree of cynicism about politics resulting from their studies.

More liberal view:

I'm more open to a liberal political structure and have developed an interest in national and international politics which did not exist before.

I lean toward the Left: seems more just. I believe the professional community is morally obligated to educate the public and politicians so that decisions are not made on irrational and unfounded fears.

Change in personal political orientation from capital to social necessities.

More tolerance of other views. I notice that my neck has faded to a delicate pink.

More cynical view:

Knowledge of politics gained in the Program has only served to direct myself away from politics altogether.

Politics are a combination of individual power and money. Politicians on the whole are liars.

Showed me how manipulative a few people can be over the masses.

More cynical now than before and watch politics more now, picking out all the things wrong in politics.

In Table 10, those that expressed definite points of view, either liberal or cynical, are related to the number of units earned in the Program, and to the Development Rating in Table 11.

Table 10

Number and Per Cent of Respondents' Political Views by Units Earned

| Units Earned | More Liberal | | More Cynical | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| 3.0 - 12.5 | 1 | 13 | 4 | 50 |
| 13.5 - 19.0 | 2 | 25 | 2 | 25 |
| 20.0 - 28.5 | 2 | 25 | 1 | 12.5 |
| 30 or more | 3 | 37 | 1 | 12.5 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 8 | 100 |

$\chi^2_1 = 2.29$, n.s. (Units Earned dichotomized at 19.5)

Table 11

Number and Per Cent of Respondents' Political Views by Development Rating

| Development Rating | More Liberal | | More Cynical | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| C-2 (least change) | 1 | 13 | 2 | 25 |
| C-3 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 62 |
| B-1 | 3 | 37 | 1 | 13 |
| B-2 | 3 | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| A (most change) | 1 | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 8 | 100 |

$\chi^2_1 = 6.34$, $p < .025$ (Development Rating dichotomized AB/C)

In terms of the development of cynicism about politics, there is a trend that is not significant that leans to the old adage that "a little knowledge is a bad thing" (Table 10). The data in Table 11, however, do confirm that a liberal education does tend to produce a more liberal and tolerant individual. Also, when the 8 men who expressed a more liberal viewpoint are joined by the 5 others who expressed a desire to participate in politics to bring about democratic change, then almost 50 per cent of those who responded to the questions on politics demonstrate a change in attitude in this important aspect of their lives.

Criminal Behaviour

Only one part of the questionnaire referred directly to the Program's effect on attitudes toward criminal behaviour and 30 of the 40 men in the Interviewed Group chose to respond. All of the respondents indicated a change in their attitude toward criminal behaviour, but it is apparent from the data in Table 12 that tenure in the Program affects attitude toward criminal behaviour and that these changes are seen as derivative from the Program by over 75 per cent of the respondents.

Table 12

Number of Respondents Who Reported Change in Attitude toward Criminal Behaviour by Source and Units Earned

| Units Earned | Size of Group | Change in Attitude due to | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | University Program | Deterrent Aspect of Prison Experience |
| 3.0 - 12.5 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| 13.5 - 19.0 | 8 | 5 | 3 |
| 20.0 - 28.5 | 8 | 7 | 1 |
| 30 or more | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| Total | 30 | 23 (77%) | 7 (23%) |

$\chi^2_1 = 4.73$, $p < .05$ (Units Earned dichotomized at 19.5)

In describing the nature of the relationship between their experience in the University Program and their attitude toward criminal behaviour, the men once again demonstrate considerable cognitive development as well as many of the essential aspects of moral reasoning:

> Now have less of a conflict type perspective. Can be 'the other person'. Know that legal and right are not the same, but recognize the right of society to make laws.
>
> Previously thought that there were few crimes that deserved a prison sentence, but now with further education, have begun to favour prison sentences for certain crimes.
>
> Showed me that it wasn't the only avenue open to me and that petty type crimes weren't worth the problems they brought.
>
> Without the Program I know that I would have left prison a hostile and violent person, but given the tools of word and thought I now feel I can direct my feelings toward more reasonable and beneficial endeavours for all concerned.
>
> More likely to 'fear' criminality than after last sentence. At this point I seem to have been 'cripplied' for criminal activity.

Other comments mentioned the acquisition of "self-discipline", a change in "morality" and the importance of exposure to an atmosphere in the University Program which did not stress criminality in daily discourse. On this issue which so directly affects their self-interest, many of the respondents mentioned an increased ability to analyze situations to further that self-interest, as in the follows:

> As I am able to evaluate myself better, and do have a better understanding of why I do things, it is easier to avoid the pitfalls that led me to do the things that led to my problems.

These comments indicate that perhaps the most important benefit to be derived from a process of cognitive growth is an ability to analyze life situations from a reasoned perspective.

Nearly all the thirty respondents to the question on criminal behaviour reported some change in their perceptions of criminality. Moreover, 10 of the 30 (33 per cent) indicated growth in cognitive/moral development. They refer to an increase in empathetic abilities and to a corresponding decline in a simplistic, 'good-bad' view of social relations. Scharf (1976) has argued that the range of attitude change aspired to in a cognitive-moral development program in a prison must centre on: (1) attaining a new perspective on the purpose of law, (2) attaining some empathetic understanding of the nature of democratic

society, and (3) developing a social conscience. The statements of these 10 men concerning criminal behaviour, when coupled with their corresponding statements on politics, indicate movement in this direction. What is particularly noteworthy is that 9 of the 10 in this group are men who have completed more than 20 units of credit in the University Program.

Another sub-group of respondents to the question on criminal behaviour phrased their replies in terms of an attitude of moral relativism. Of the 30 respondents, 9 (30 per cent) revealed this attitude and attributed it to their experience in the University Program. Typical comments were:

> I learned that criminal behaviour is anything termed deviant in a particular society.
>
> Every society has a criminal element. Not all criminals are behind bars. Criminal behaviour is in all strata of society.
>
> Less likely to look upon criminal behaviour as pathological - rather as sociologically determined.
>
> I used to think crime was a violation of some universal moral code. I now believe its creation to be a mutable societal imperative occasioned by any given society's need to protect its own values.
>
> I never was a criminal.
>
> Criminal is merely one who does not adhere to certain laws set down by society at a certain time in history.

Of the 9 men who volunteered this relativist attitude toward crime and criminality, 7 or 78 per cent were in prison for drug-related offences, 1 for forgery and 1 for a sexual offence. The presence of this attitude in the sample, therefore, may be due in part to the generalized societal ambivalence to current legislation concerning use of narcotics and in part to the relativism implicit in social science courses such as psychology, sociology and anthropology.

A third theme in the responses to the question on criminal behaviour was a definite sense of "enlightened self-interest" on the part of some of the respondents. Of the 30 respondents, 7 (23 per cent) expressed a determination to avoid criminal behaviour because it leads to consequences which are seen as not desirable. Thus they mention "fearing

criminality", that it "isn't worth it", that it is too "hazardous", "futile", and a "waste of time". These might be interpreted as simply the working of deterrence, but in each case the comments are coupled with additional statements concerning goals generated largely while in the University Program.

When all three types of changes in attitude toward criminal behaviour are related to Units Earned (Table 13) and Drug Use (Table 14), the data shows a clear progression of a cognitive/moral development responses with number of units earned while self-interest attitudes are expressed primarily by those with fewer than 19.5 units. With regard to attitude change and drug use, there was no clear trend although 4 of 5 non-opiate drug users expressed relativistic attitudes.

Table 13

Number and Per Cent of Respondents Indicating Various Types of Attitude Change Regarding Criminal Behaviour by Units Earned

| Units Earned | Size of Group | Type of Attitude Change | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cog/Moral Development | | Relativism | | Self-Interest | | Other | |
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 3.0 - 12.5 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 22 | 2 | 29 | 2 | 50 |
| 13.5 - 19.0 | 8 | 1 | 10 | 3 | 34 | 3 | 43 | 1 | 25 |
| 20.0 - 28.5 | 8 | 4 | 40 | 2 | 22 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 25 |
| 30 or more | 8 | 5 | 50 | 2 | 22 | 1 | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 30 | 10 | 100 | 9 | 100 | 7 | 100 | 4 | 100 |

$\chi^2_3 = 10.98$, $p < .025$ (Units Earned dichotomized at 19.5)

Table 14

Number and Per Cent of Respondents Indicating Various Types of Attitude Change Regarding Criminal Behaviour by Drug Use

| Drug Use | Size of Group | Type of Attitude Change | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cog/Moral Development | | Relativism | | Self-Interest | | Other | |
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Opiates | 16 | 6 | 60 | 4 | 44 | 4 | 57 | 2 | 50 |
| Non-Opiates | 5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 44 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 25 |
| Alcohol | 2 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| None | 7 | 3 | 30 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 29 | 1 | 25 |
| Total | 30 | 10 | 100 | 9 | 100 | 7 | 100 | 4 | 100 |

$\chi^2_3 = 3.16$, n.s. (Dichotomized Drug Users/Others)

Friends and Family

In the area of relationships with friends and family after release considerable evidence was found of social, cognitive and affective change. Of the Interviewed Group, 28, or 70 per cent, reported that they had few friends now who were the same as before their enrolment in the University Program. This figure, when combined with information on Residence and Employment reported in a later section, indicates considerable social change for the men involved, a breaking of old patterns. In many cases, changes are quite deliberately pursued:

> It is difficult now to spend much time with a lot of ex-friends. I like some of them, but find at times that I risk being dragged into the 'old life style'. It seems hard now to spend a lot of time with someone that is not doing something meaningful.

The last statement in the quotation also hints at a process of cognitive development as the qualitative nature of friendship is considered.

The data in Table 15 indicates that change in the area of friendship is more likely with men involved with offences such as robbery, assault or theft than with those involved with narcotic offences.

Table 15

Number and Per Cent of Respondents
by Choice of Friends and Type of Offence

| Type of Offence | Size of Group | Choice of Friends: Same | | Half Same | | Few Same | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 1. Assault/ Armed Rob | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 41 |
| 2. BE&T/BE&I | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| 3. Rape | 2 | 1 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| 4. Poss/Traff | 23 | 5 | 64 | 4 | 80 | 14 | 51 |
| 5. Murder/Mans | 2 | 1 | 12 | 1 | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| 6. Forgery | 1 | 1 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| All Offences | 40 | 8 | 100 | 5 | 100 | 27 | 100 |

$\chi^2_1 = 5.18$, $p < .05$ (Dichotomized on Offences, 123/4 and Friends, Half Same/Few Same)

Cohen and Taylor (1972) offer a more complex but similar differentiation by offence in their analysis of a sample of British prisoners and anticipate these results. They posited that men involved with violence, confrontation or use of weapons are more open to change through developmental-oriented programs because such offences indicate a more underdeveloped cognitive/moral structure.

When asked to describe the effect of the University Program on their perceptions of friendship, the men responded in essentially two ways. About half phrased their responses in terms of a new ability to choose friends more wisely and a general expansion of the range of possible friendships:

> I find it much easier to pick and choose those I want to be friends, to understand their problems and to accept and trust them.

> Much more selective in the type of friends I choose because of a definite increase in self-esteem.

> Psychology gave me more knowledge of human character thus adding to my ability to choose good friends.
>
> Expanded area of friendship to include people who formerly would have been excluded.
>
> Have made many new friends through the Program. Many of my friends and acquaintances are from the college I am currently attending.

This kind of response seems indicative of a higher sense of self-esteem, a strong sense of social mobility and an individual who feels more in control of life, more able to make decisions within the context of an improved social situation.

The other half of the respondents focused on the qualitative changes in their attitude toward friendship, indicating a degree of affective change after participation in the University Program. They mention the importance of deeper relationships and more open relationships:

> The Program gave me an ability to develop more open and rewarding relationships through a possible stabilization of my own emotional understanding.
>
> I can separate 'acquaintance' and 'friendship' more easily and therefore value real friends more.
>
> Program helped me to become more understanding, patient and sensitive to those around me, a quality I inhibited before.
>
> I now see how important friends are to me. I no longer want to go through life alone, and I'm much happier for it.

Of the 30 men who commented on the impact of the university experience on their perceptions of family relations, 78 per cent indicated that it did have an effect. Within the Interviewed Group of 40, 8 (20 per cent) remained with their previous wife or companion, 16 (40 per cent) are with a new wife or companion, and 16 (40 per cent) live alone. Of particular note is the fact that 13 men (33 per cent) left their previous companion after release. As in the case of friendship patterns, these figures represent the same alienation from family and social background that Forster (1977) discussed in his study of education in British prisons.

Comments on attitude toward family relations centered on improved communication skills and a generally more tolerant and understanding attitude:

I have a greater ability to understand and express feelings with family - had been very difficult before.

The value I put on family relationships has increased considerably. Program has shown me that I need these fundamentals.

The courses in the Program taught me that I could in fact have a 'normal' family life. Feel more mature. More tolerant.

Better able to cope with family relations because of Program. Family gives me more respect - feels prouder than before.

More understanding and tolerance of others and other viewpoints. More objectivity.

On the more specific issue of relations with women the responses were in great contrast to the generally sexist and chauvinist stance of men in the prison community, reflecting both cognitive and affective change:

I am more willing to adjust and accept difficult times in marriage - more understanding. Generally more open, less inhibited.

Changed from a possibly benevolent chauvinist to a much more liberated free thinker. I'm happy to ignore stereotypes and do my share of the household work without feeling I was belittling myself.

Altered my preconceived notions of marriage dramatically. More aware of it being a two-way relationship. Easier to interact with females than before.

Now I see that sex is part of a <u>whole</u> relationship.

Psychology courses were important in understanding marriage - more sexually conservative and 'moralistic'. No longer the male chauvinist pig I once was.

These comments appeared on a part of the questionnaire asking the men to describe the effect of the Program on their perception of sexual relations. Most respondents either left the question blank or wrote indignant comments. Nine of the 12 who did comment had taken more than 20 units of credit in the Program.

These changed perceptions of relations with women could quite obviously be a general reaction to incarceration, but as in the case of friendship, the men indicate a direct link between their perceptions and the University Program. In part, this stems from the course content, particularly in psychology and anthropology, in part from the process of identification with the university staff and their collective attitude toward women and in part, no doubt, to the presence of women instructors in the Program.

Bases of Development

The data and the subjects' comments presented in this part of the report provide evidence to support the contention that attitude change and cognitive/moral development have occurred in the men in the University Program, but it remains difficult to determine the exact source of this growth or development. For many men, the fact of incarceration alone might explain such change. In both the questionnaires and the interviews, the men most frequently refer to the University Program as the primary source of their self-perceived change. In this section, more data and comments are offered to support the conclusion that in fact the Program is the primary fact of promoting growth:

> The Program gave me something I needed when there was nothing else for me within the Institution.
>
> It released me from the drudgery of prison life. Had a positive effect on 'purposeless' prisoners, by giving them new directions and, consequently, purpose.
>
> Not only did the Program preserve my sanity, it encouraged me to change many of my attitudes, behaviours and concepts of the world in general.
>
> The University Program I hope by this time has made its reputation and worth - I know by experience its value in retaining my own sanity, belief and trust in the human condition.
>
> The only rehabilitation that I saw during eleven years in custody was offered by the U-Vic Program or a few shop courses that were pretty well out-of-date.
>
> I think the U-Vic Program is a great idea for people in prison. Even though it seemed like a carrot at the end of a string when I started, once I got into it, I felt good about 'learning'. I came away a better person for it, and for that I'm thankful.

After each question concerning the impact of the Program on their perceptions of specific topics, the men were asked to indicate if the primary source of impact had been the course material, the instructors, or fellow students. Almost half of the Interviewed Group indicated that the actual courses and readings were the primary factor. About a third attributed the change to the influence of the instructors and the remainder said fellow students were most important. This would seem to indicate that despite the students' stated desire for more 'practical', 'job-oriented' courses, the content of the liberal arts curriculum was seen as the most important component of the Program.

In a separate question, each respondent was asked to rank the three individuals or groups who had helped the most in prison. By assigning 3 points to a first, 2 to a second, and 1 point to a third, the following results were obtained:

| | |
|---|---|
| University Staff | 27 |
| Other Students | 27 |
| Other Prisoners | 10 |
| Visitors | 9 |
| Other Teachers | 8 |
| Classification Officer | 3 |
| Living Unit Officer | 2 |
| Chaplain | 2 |
| Psychologist | 2 |
| Dept. Head | 2 |

The overwhelming influence on the men interviewed clearly cnetered on the University Program, split evenly between staff and fellow students. This would seem to reflect the power of the sense of community within the University Program and accentuate the distance between these men and the rest of the prison. According to the evaluation of the Project Newgate prison education program, such distance is crucial to achieving its goals. Insulation from the prison is the strategy recommended to prevent "... automatic contamination by association" (Seashore, 1976). Several of the respondents commented directly on this 'alternative community' within the prison:

> The environment of the Academic Centre was quite different from the rest of the Institution, with students feeling less repressed - they could not only learn but also express themselves and their opinions more freely than anywhere else in the prison.
>
> There is a great deal of difference between the atmosphere of the Academic Centre and the rest of the prison. The prison was generally tense, forcing people to keep a low profile, while the U-Vic area was much more relaxed leading to a lowering of personal barriers.
>
> The university community has a direct effect on the prison as a whole, being more peaceful and creative. Students often help defuse potentially violent situations among non-students by encouraging a more rational solution to a problem.

The Contrast

Despite repeated attempts, prisons have failed at being centres of human growth or change. Instead prisons have been characterized as institutions where the ... deprivations and frustrations of institutional

life lead to a partial loss of personal autonomy, impersonalization, marginality, mortification, status degradation, and loss of identification with the normal adult role" (Roebuck, 1963, p. 198). From this kind of institution, Scharf (1976) concludes that because the "... criminal leaves prison with the same social conscience with which he entered, he faces a continuing probability of remaining morally alienated from society and its institutions." The data presented in this part of the report directly contradicts that picture. In conclusion, one respondent's statement is offered verbatim:

> The U-Vic Program is, in my opinion, the best thing to happen in the Penal System. Anyone serving time feels that their life is being wasted, and this program helps to offset the depression that this feeling causes.
>
> The knowledge that through education, an individual is doing something positive to help himself cannot help but instill a feeling of self-worth and relative well-being. At least the time is not being wasted as it is in so many other places in the prison.
>
> The program teaches students to think in many different ways, and about many different subjects. Discussion with professors on a person-to-person basis and reading and understanding texts stimulates a positive feeling towards other people, and life in general. This is something which has previously been sadly lacking in the prison population. Without this feeling, a prisoner feels - correctly - that he has been "warehoused" as a useless article. This is not conducive to rehabilitation, or anything save a 'prison mentality'.

## PART III

## ACHIEVING STABILITY AND REALIZING LIFE GOALS

Part II dealt with what the University of Victoria Program regards as the pre-condition for change in behaviour; cognitive/moral development and attitude change. This Part examines the evidence for actual social change displayed by the men in the study, focusing on their employment records and further education, their living situation and their degree of success at avoiding reincarceration or further contact with the law. Besides describing the socio-economic status of the Interviewed Group, an assessment is made of the role of the University Program as growth factor, using subjective statements from the questionnaires and data correlating social change with performance in the University Program.

### Employment

In the Interviewed Group all but one of the men were employed full-time, were going to school full-time, or were going to school and working. The range of occupations was quite typical of a cross-section of men in their 20's and 30's.

Table 16

Number, Type of Job and Job Classification of Interviewed Group

| Blue Collar N=18 (45%) | White Collar N=10 (25%) | Self-Employed N=5 (13%) | Student N=6 (15%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheet Metal Worker (2) | Manager | Construction Consulting Contractor (2) | University (4) |
| Production Worker | Counsellor | | College (2) |
| Mechanic | Salesman (3) | | |
| Carpenter | Teacher (3) | | |
| Labourer (3) | Accountant | | |
| Forester (6) | Recreational Aide | | |
| Meatcutter | | | |
| Bartender | | | |
| Dishwasher/ Delivery | | | |
| Bus Driver | | | |

Of the 33 men in the Interviewed Group who are currently employed, 15 (45 per cent) have held the same job since release, the others have had more than one job. As Table 17 indicates, time since release is not a factor in job stability.

Table 17

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Employed by Number of Jobs and Time Since Release

| Time Since Release | One Job | | More Than One Job | | All Jobs | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 6 - 10 mon | 3 | 43 | 4 | 57 | 7 | 100 |
| 11 - 16 mon | 5 | 56 | 4 | 44 | 9 | 100 |
| 17 mon- 2 yr | 6 | 43 | 8 | 57 | 14 | 100 |
| 2 - 3 yr | 1 | 33 | 2 | 67 | 3 | 100 |
| Total | 15 | | 18 | | 33 | |

$\chi^2_1$ = .48, n.s. (Dichotomized on Time Since Release 6 - 16/ 17 and up)

A great many of the respondents mentioned aspirations for upward mobility in terms of employment, but to date only 12 of the 33 employed (36 per cent) had achieved significant job upgrading from previous employment. However, the 6 men currently attending university or college appear likely to improve their occupational level, raising the total figure for employment upgrading to 18, or 45 per cent of the Interviewed Group.

Of the men who have significantly upgraded their occupation, 7 of the 12 made statements that attribute this change directly to their participation in the University Program:

> The program gave me acceptable credentials to work as a counsellor. Got me away from labour type employment.
>
> Program enables me to move into management and subsequently own my own company.
>
> Because of the U-Vic courses, I've been called upon to perform duties beyond my original employment.

There is a definite connection between my participation in the U-Vic Program and the employment I now have as a teacher.

I used the U-Vic Program to enhance my communication skills and to further my ambition to be a teacher.

Program made me realize that I am capable of a job that requires more brain than brawn, hence I practised more discrimination in job choice.

If the white collar workers, self-employed and students are grouped together on the assumption that they are to some degree upwardly mobile, then they can be studied in relation to credits earned in the Program. Table 18 reports this data which indicates only a trend for those with less than one year to go into blue collar jobs and for those with more than one year to be white collar workers, self-employed or students. However, the difference is not significant.

Table 18

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Interviewed Group by Employment and Units Earned

| Units Earned | Blue Collar | | White Collar | | Self-Employed | | Student | | Unemployed | | All Types | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 3.0 - 12.5 | 6 | 67 | 1 | 11 | 2 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 100 |
| 13.5 - 19.0 | 3 | 34 | 2 | 22 | 2 | 22 | 2 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 100 |
| 20.0 - 28.5 | 5 | 46 | 2 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 36 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 100 |
| 30 or more | 4 | 36 | 5 | 46 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 11 | 100 |
| Total | 18 | | 10 | | 5 | | 6 | | 1 | | | |

$\chi^2_1 = 2.33$, n.s. (Units Earned dichotomized at 13, Employment Blue Collar/Other).

Table 19 indicates that the Development Ratings taken as a measure of socialization into the mores and customs of an alternative community with essentially middle class values does show a very significant relationship. Most blue collar workers showed the least change in Development rating. In fact, only 1 in 18 were in the top two categories.

Table 19

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Interviewed Group by Employment and Development Rating

| Development Rating | Blue Collar | | White Collar | | Self-Employed | | Student | | Unemployed | | All Types | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| A(most change) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 33 | 1 | 33 | 3 | 100 |
| B-2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 14 | 2 | 29 | 3 | 43 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 100 |
| B-1 | 5 | 62 | 3 | 38 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 100 |
| C-3 | 8 | 61 | 3 | 23 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 100 |
| C-2(least change) | 4 | 45 | 2 | 22 | 2 | 22 | 1 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 100 |
| Total | 18 | | 10 | | 5 | | 6 | | 1 | | | |

$\chi^2 = 10.98$, $p < .001$ (Development Rating dichotomized A, B-2/B-1 and C's, Employment dichotomized Blue Collar/Other)

In Table 20 current employment is related to type of offence prior to last incarceration. It shows a most striking lack of upward mobility for men previously involved with narcotic offences, a factor discussed later in this part of the report.

Table 20

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Interviewed Group by Employment and Type of Previous Offence

| Type of Offence | Blue Collar | | White Collar | | Self-Employed | | Student | | Unemployed | | All Types | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 1. Robbery/ Assault | 1 | 8 | 3 | 25 | 3 | 25 | 4 | 34 | 1 | 8 | 12 | 100 |
| 2. Rape/Ind Assault | 0 | 0 | 1 | 50 | 1 | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 100 |
| 3. Poss/ Traff | 16 | 70 | 4 | 17 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 100 |
| 4. Murder/ Mans | 1 | 50 | 1 | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 100 |
| 5. Forgery | 0 | 0 | 1 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 100 |

$\chi^2_1 = 11.65$, $p < .001$ (Type of Offence dichotomized at 1, 2/3 and Employment Blue Collar/Other

Several men in the Interviewed Group remain dissatisfied with their type of employment, but express a willingness to wait for better opportunities:

> My education is not currently relevant to my occupation but I am confident that it soon will be. I am content to work at any job until the right opportunity arises.

This is a classic example of what Bruno Bettleheim singles out as the keystone of middle class morality, "...the conviction that to postpone immediate pleasure in order to gain more lasting satisfaction in the future is the most effective way to reach one's goals". (Bettleheim, 1970). Forster in his study of education in British prisons noted that immediate satisfaction is one of the characteristics and attractions of crime and that a major reforming effect of formal education was the "...realization that things come in time". (Forster, 1977).

While there is interest in job improvement and further education, on the whole, the 18 men engaged in blue collar employment appear to be satisfied with their jobs. There is no indication that completion of one or two years of university level courses necessarily results in serious alienation from working class occupations.

Twenty-two of the 35 respondents (62 per cent) indicated that the University Program had a direct effect on that choice of employment. Table 21 shows that the effect was slightly but not significantly related to number of units completed.

Table 21

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Impact of Program on Choice of Employment by Units Earned

| Units Earned | Size of Group | Definite Impact | | No Impact | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % |
| 3.0 - 12.5 | 9 | 5 | 23 | 4 | 31 |
| 13.5 - 19.0 | 8 | 4 | 18 | 4 | 31 |
| 20.0 - 28.5 | 8 | 5 | 23 | 3 | 23 |
| 30 or more | 10 | 8 | 36 | 2 | 15 |
| Total | 35 | 22 | 100 | 13 | 100 |

$\chi^2_1 = 1.96$, n.s. (Units Earned dichotomized at 19.5)

Typical comments stressed a heightened sense of goal awareness, acquaintence with new occupation areas and a concern for the quality of employment:

> My participation in the U-Vic Program helped me to recognize the field of employment I would like to enter.
>
> I found an area of work that interested me a lot and am confident that it will continue.
>
> The Program showed me that I was capable of obtaining more satisfying work than I had previously thought possible.

> I'm no longer forced to take manual labour type work and the Program assisted me in advancing in my present position.
>
> I'm less likely to look at only the monetary aspect in employment now than before and less likely to seek employment when little opportunity is offered for good intelligent conversation.

Despite the majority of men who said the University Program affected their choice of employment, only 10 of the 33 employed men (30 per cent) gave the Program credit for being of assistance in actually obtaining employment. Few men reported any major difficulties in finding work after release. This rather surprising finding may be fortuitous or it may be a result of some of the more subtle effects of university education. Several men discuss being more articulate after participation in the Program, an obvious factor in obtaining employment. Others mention the development of good work habits during their tenure as a student and others refer to the necessity of making responsible decisions in the university community, all important employment factors and all generally absent in the prison society. One respondent was quite specific on this issue:

> I benefitted greatly from the Program, though I didn't really realize it until after I was released. I found that I knew how to plan and set up a series of goals, knew how to set up a job search, write a resume and how to present myself as employable, no mean feat with my record.

Finally, besides the specific learned skills, the new goals, and more articulate manner, the success of the Interviewed Group in the job market may be in part attributed to the increased sense of self-worth, reported in Part II. Cynicism, defeatism, bitterness and low self-esteem are all too characteristic of men in prison and lead to an abysmal record of self-fulfilling prophecies upon release. Any process or program which changes that generalized attitude will have an impact on not only employment but on all other aspects of an individual's life.

Education

Of the 40 men in the Interviewed Group, only 6 (15 per cent) are currently attending a university or college full-time. Of these, 3 are engaged in community college courses leading to qualification in

specialized fields, one is pursuing a degree in social work, one a B.A. degree in liberal arts, and one a law degree.

Another five men of the Interviewed Group (13 per cent) are currently attending a university or college on a part-time basis while employed elsewhere. Of this group, two are engaged in specialized fields, one in accounting and one in recreation. The other three are finishing B.A. degrees begun in prison.

Five other men have completed university courses since release but are currently employed on a full-time basis. Finally, seven of the 40 attempted to continue their education after release but withdrew prior to completion of courses for credit.

Sixteen of the Interviewed Group (40 per cent) have thus successfully made the transition from education in the prison to education in the community. An additional 14 men have expressed a strong interest in continuing their education at some point in the future. Table 22 shows a trend toward completion of post-secondary courses being dependent on the number of courses taken in prison, but the relationship is not statistically significant. However, Table 23 clearly indicates that men who score high on the Development Rating are very likely to continue or attempt to continue their education upon release. While this could reflect a bias

Table 22

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Respondents' Further Schooling by Units Earned

| Units Earned | Size of Group | Current Full-Time | | Current Part-Time | | Previous Courses Completed | | Courses Attempted | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 3.0 - 12.5 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 42 |
| 13.5 - 19.0 | 5 | 2 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 2 | 29 |
| 20.0 - 28.5 | 9 | 4 | 67 | 1 | 20 | 2 | 40 | 2 | 29 |
| 30 or more | 5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 60 | 2 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 23 | 6 | 100 | 5 | 100 | 5 | 100 | 7 | 100 |

$\chi^2_1 = 2.38$, n.s. (Units Earned dichotomized at 19.5 and Courses Attempted/Others)

in the evaluation process toward the men more academically inclined, it could also be reflective of the clarity of their goals and their successful adoption of an attitude and personal "style" conducive to university or college invironments. The data indicate that men who score low on the Development Rating system have a poor post-release academic record. There are also indications that the same group shows little inclination to continue educational upgrading.

Table 23

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Respondents' Further Schooling by Development Rating .

| Development Rating | Size of Group | Current Full-Time | | Current Part-Time | | Previous Courses Completed | | Courses Attempted | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| A (most change) | 2 | 1 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| B-2 | 6 | 3 | 49 | 1 | 20 | 1 | 20 | 1 | 14 |
| B-1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 80 | 2 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| C-3 | 4 | 1 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 43 |
| C-2 (least change) | 5 | 1 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 3 | 43 |
| Total | 23 | 6 | 100 | 5 | 100 | 5 | 100 | 7 | 100 |

$\chi^2_1 = 5.96$, $p < .025$ (Development Rating dichotomized AB/C and Courses Attempted/ Others)

Of the 22 men in the Interviewed Group not currently involved in further education, financial considerations were the most important factor for half of the men. Many of those interviewed noted that some form of transitional arrangements from the prison to the university would have helped considerably in enabling them to continue their education. This is supported by a study of the U.S. Project Newgate prison program,

where it is argued that "... most important is post-release support provided through group living arrangements, easing the transition from lower class convict to middle class student" (Seashore, 1976).

Living Situation

An increasingly popular explanation of the origins of criminal behaviour stresses situational factors, the social and economic context in which the decision to commit a criminal act takes place (Clark, 1977; Gibbons & Garabedian, 1974). It is proposed that willingness to offend is determined by how an individual perceives and analyzes a particular situation and this process is dependent on his level of cognitive/moral development and the particular living situation the offender finds himself in. Family, friends and employment are all important factors in that living situation as are factors such as location of residence and use of leisure time.

The great majority of men in this study were repeat offenders and it is reasonable to assume that residence in certain areas and long-standing friendships cultivated in those areas are factors in repeated decisions to commit criminal acts. Any movement to break those friendship patterns (discussed in Part I) or to move away from those areas would be a positive step in avoiding situational factors which might lead to similar decisions. In fact, overall, 60 per cent of the Interviewed Group established new residences more than 25 miles from residence prior to being incarcerated. This appears to be larger than one would expect, however, there is no comparison data available. Data for residence location, available for the Interviewed Group, is reported in Tables 24 and 25.

In Table 24 there is a trend for most (71 per cent) robbery/assault offence respondents to establish residences more than 25 miles from prior residence while only 52 per cent of possession/trafficking respondents move this far, but the difference is not significant. However, the differences by drug use are significant as shown in Table 25.

About 3 in 4 of the non-opiate group left their previous areas of residence while less than half of the opiate users made a similar move.

Table 24

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Respondents by Residence Location and Type of Offence

| Offence | Size of Group | Same or Adjacent | | 25 miles or more away | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % |
| 1. Robbery/ Assault | 12 | 3 | 19 | 9 | 38 |
| 2. Poss/Traff | 23 | 11 | 69 | 12 | 50 |
| 3. Rape/Ind Assault | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 4 |
| 4. Manslaughter | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 |
| 5. Forgery | 1 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 40 | 16 | 100 | 24 | 100 |

$\chi^2$ = 1.90, n.s. (Offences dichotomized 1,3/2)

Table 25

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Respondents by Residence Location and Drug Use

| Drug Use | Size of Group | Same or Adjacent | | 25 miles or more away | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % |
| Opiates | 23 | 12 | 76 | 11 | 46 |
| Alcohol | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 |
| Non-Opiates | 6 | 2 | 12 | 4 | 17 |
| None | 9 | 2 | 12 | 7 | 29 |
| Total | 40 | 16 | 100 | 24 | 100 |

$\chi^2$ = 3.84, $p < .05$ (Drug Use dichotomized at Opiates/Other)

It is recognized that moving away from a previous area may be a logical response to leaving prison and, in the darkest possible light, a way to avoid detection for future criminal acts. An analysis of partial data contained in the Interim Report indicated that those that were clearly non-recidivists had generally moved away from previous areas of residence. This may be indicative of a decision to avoid the commission of future criminal acts by altering the situational context.

The University Program is organized to involve a variety of activities other than the purely academic. There are a wide range of cultural and recreational programs associated with the University Program. These have included music, theatre, films, writing workshops, student politics, and a variety of guest speakers. The aim was to develop new habits which, according to Daniel Glaser, could "... conceivably lead to a post-release use of leisure time that is less conducive to crime than previous avocations" (Glaser, 1964).

Data on leisure time activities is not conclusive because the questionnaire failed to determine changes in these activities. It would appear, however, that time spent watching television has been reduced in favour of reading. Standard entertainment activities such as movies, sports events and dances predominate in terms of leisure time, though several respondents refer to attending the theatre as a result of their participation in the Program.

Avoiding Contact With The Law

To this point the report has described the degree to which the men in the Interviewed Group have perceived and sought to achieve certain goals after release from prison. These goals have included better family relations, an improved socio-political involvement with society, employment, and further education. All of these goals impinge upon what for most of these men must remain the major goal--avoiding further contact with the law and in particular, reincarceration.

This section examines this goal from a variety of perspectives, first outlining the data on contact with the law and then speculating on the basis for success and failure. In presenting the data, two separate comparisons are made: (1) the Eligible Group of 65 university students and a Matched Group of 65 non-student ex-prisoners, and (2) an expanded

Total Group of 73 university students and a Matched Group of 73 non-student ex-prisoners. For the second comparison group, 8 men were added, consisting of men released from prison prior to October 1, 1979, who remained on Day Parole or men released during the term of the study who were reincarcerated prior to being out for 6 months. Men on day parole or who failed to remain out for 6 months were not considered to be eligible for inclusion in the main body of this report because they had insufficient time or freedom to establish or re-establish a life-pattern. They did, however, have the time and opportunity to have conflicts with the law and therefore are included in the Total Group reported in this section of the report.

It was decided to arrange the data in terms of contact with the law rather than to use simple recidivism, recognizing the latter term is "... one of the least understood and elusive of measures employed in criminal justice research" (Gendreau and Leipciger, 1978). Maltz and McCleary (1977), and Seashore, Haberfield, Irwin and Baker (1976) have also questioned the internal and external validity of recidivism as a measure of success of programs.

More accurate and reasonable measures should take into account the degree of success of rehabilitation efforts, recognizing that many offenders do not experience total conversion to non-criminal patterns. At the same time, we must agree with Parlett's (1980) statement:

> In the final analysis, the function of prison is primarily, by consensus, the protection of society. Society is not protected in the long run if the product which the prison turns out has not attained a sense of reason and proportion and reverts once again to criminal activity. It is, then, insufficient to show paper and pencil growth; freedom from crime and non-return to prison must also be shown.

In this study then, as much data as was available from interviews, files, and other records regarding contact with the law has been included so that the reader may reach his own conclusions regarding the degree of recidivism.

Table 26 shows the various types of contact with the law for the Eligible Group and its Matched Group. Because information is available only for the Eligible Group with respect to "Fines and minor violations", it was not included in the "reincarcerated" category.

However, those "Awating trial" were included because with the charges listed there was a very high probability of all of them being sentenced.

Table 26

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Subjects in Eligible Group and Matched Group by Contact With the Law

| Type of Contact | Eligible Group | | Matched Group | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| 1. Return to prison for violation of parole | 2 | 3 | 12 | 18 |
| 2. Return to prison for violation of parole and new offence | 4 | 6 | 17 | 26 |
| 3. Return to prison for new offence | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| 4. Awaiting trial | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. Fines or minor violations | 1 | | n.a. | |
| Not reincarcerated | 56 | 86 | 31 | 48 |
| Total Group | 65 | 100 | 65 | 100 |

n.a. - not available

$z_p = 3.48$, $p < .001$ (Test for Difference Between Two Correlated Proportions)

Table 26 shows that for those who were in half-way houses and/or on the street for at least six months, violation of parole thereafter only occurred in 3 per cent of the Eligible Group but 18 per cent of the Matched Group. Overall the Matched Group's reincarceration rate was 52 per cent compared with only 14 per cent for the Eligible University Group.

Table 27 reports the same type of data as that in Table 26 but involves the Total Group and its Matched sample. The reincarceration

rates are somewhat higher here than in Table 26 because it includes subjects who had contact with the law within 6 months of release, while on day parole. It shows that more than three times as many of the Matched Group (51 per cent) were reincarcerated as of the Total Group of University subjects (16 per cent). In both Tables 26 and 27 the rate of reincarceration is very significantly lower for the University group.

Table 27

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Subjects in Total Group and Matched Group by Contact With the Law

| Type of Contact | Total Group | | Matched Group | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| 1. Return to prison for violation of parole | 3 | 4 | 13 | 18 |
| 2. Return to prison for violation of parole and new offence | 5 | 7 | 19 | 26 |
| 3. U.A.L. | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 4. Return to prison for new offence | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. Awaiting Trial | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Not reincarcerated | 62 | 84 | 36 | 49 |
| Total Group | 74* | 100 | 73 | 100 |

* One subject who violated parole while in a halfway house was inadvertently overlooked until the report was nearing completion.

$z_p = 3.47$, $p < .001$ (Test for Difference Between Correlated Proportions)

Most studies of recidivism have shown that the rate is greatest soon after release and drops rapidly in the first two years, after which there is little further recidivism. It was therefore decided to determine if reincarceration, (as reported for Categories 1 to 4 of Table 27) was related to time since release. The results

are reported in Table 28. It shows that of those reincarcerated, 72 per cent of the Total Group and 80 per cent of the Matched Group were reincarcerated within one year. This only confirms that most problems occur early. Tables 26 and 27 show that university students somehow survive supervision more successfully.

Table 28

Number of Reincarcerations for
Total and Matched Groups
by Length of Time Since Release

| Months Since Release | Total Group | Matched Group |
|---|---|---|
| 0 - 5 | 4 | 17 |
| 6 - 11 | 4 | 11 |
| 12 - 17 | 1 | 4 |
| 18 - 23 | 1 | 2 |
| 24 or more | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 11 | 35 |

A sense of reason and proportion may be one result of education programs, but it does not guarantee an immediate conversion. The issue of "degree" can be examined, however, by looking at the particulars of contact with the law. Table 29 provides details of the offence, or nature of the violation of each of the 13 men in the Total (University) Group who encountered difficulties with the law after release. An immediate conclusion that arises from the data in Table 29 is that in the three and one-half year period covered by this study, only 7 of the 74, or 10 per cent, have been returned to prison for committing a new offence. In at least three of these cases there is a considerable decrease in the seriousness of the offence. We also know that the median length of time between release and reincarceration for the ten men who returned to prison was thirteen months.

Table 29

Details of Total Group Contact With the Law

| Type of Contact | | Specific Details |
|---|---|---|
| Return to Prison for | No 1 | Charged with poss of narcotics - acquitted<br>Temporary detention, no time added |
| | No 2 | Charged with contributing liquor to a juvenile<br>Temp detention, 6 mo consecutive |
| | No 3 | Charged with possession of narc while in halfway house |
| Return to prison for violation of parole and new offence | No 4 | Poss Narc/Traff - 9 mo consec<br>Previous Off: Armed Robbery |
| | No 5 | B & E - awaiting sentencing<br>Previous Off: Poss/Traff |
| | No 6 | Traff in Narcotics<br>Previous Off: Traff Narcotics |
| | No 7 | Theft, Mandatory Supervision revoked<br>Previous Off: Theft |
| | No 8 | Details Unknown<br>Previous Off: Rape |
| U.A.L. | No 9 | Failed to return to halfway house after missing curfew<br>Previous Off: Armed Robbery |
| Return to prison for new offence | No 10 | Theft over $200 - sentenced to 15 days<br>Previous Off: Armed Robbery |
| | No 11 | Possession Stolen Property - 28 months<br>Previous Off: Fraud |
| Awaiting Trial | No 12 | Accused of B & E<br>Previous Off: Poss/Traff |
| Fines or minor violations | No 13* | Fined for gambling<br>Previous Off: Poss/Traff |

*Not included in reincarcerated group.

There is one all too predictable conclusion which emerges from the data on failure to avoid contact with the law, and that is that there is no way to predict the individuals who will fail. However, the data in this study clearly indicate that as a group, the 73 participants in the University of Victoria Program suffered less failure in this regard than the Matched Group, or the commonly held figure of 40 per cent recidivism for the penitentiary system as a whole. The report has already provided evidence that attitude change, cognitive development, improved employment opportunities and changed life goals all play a role in facilitating avoidance of trouble with the law. This is well illustrated by the case studies included in Appendix B. What the data and predictive devices cannot do is ensure or guarantee such success in individual cases. None of the predictive devices are effective in terms of the 12 men of the total group who failed to avoid further contact with the law. Simple addition of academic courses is no cure-all because in some cases it simply reflects length of sentence and is not a process of personal growth or development. While most of these men are in their thirties, most of the Total Group are as well. The Development Rating shows some predictive value, with 67 per cent of the 12 reincarcerated men in the two C categories. This, however, is balanced by the fact that 63 per cent of the Total Group was placed in the C category. The same holds true for the Base Expectancy Scale, which appears to be highly accurate in predicting failure until one notices that over 60 per cent of the Total Group are rated as poor risks by the Base Expectancy Scale. The Recidivism Prediction Scale with a more complex differentiation, fares worse in terms of predictability.

The only variable that seems a true guide is addiction, with 100 per cent of the 12 men being opiate users. The majority are classed as addicts. The variable of opiate users, either heavy use or addiction, has been an important factor throughout this study. It impinged on the issue of friendship patterns, on residence location, and is particularly evident in reincarceration figures. What is very significant, however, is the fact that 57 per cent of the Total Group of university students were opiate users and most of them, 70 per cent, were successful in avoiding further contact with the law.

# PART IV
# CONCLUSION

This study has confirmed that the effects of the Program in terms of cognitive and affective changes reported by students with at least eight months in the Program are robust and long-term. Furthermore, these changes as measured by staff Developmental Ratings are related to a number of factors indicative of adjustment to society. Other variables frequently related to factors indicating success on the street were number of courses completed, type of crime and type of addiction. Explanations were proposed for integrating the positive findings with the theoretical bases of the Program. Age, the two crime indexes, the Base Expectancy Scale, and the Recividism Prediction Scale were not found to be predictive of adjustment to society.

The reincarceration rate for those released from six months to four years, and averaging about twenty months, was 14 per cent for the Eligible Group, while for the comparison Matched Group the rate was 52 per cent, a highly significant difference.

## Evaluation Strategies

Traditional evaluations based on the classical or conventional research paradigm, which used hypothetical-deductive methodology derived from the experimental traditions of agriculture and psychology was rejected as inadequate for the purposes of evaluating a learning milieu involving a network of social, institutional, educational and psychological variables.

The experimental paradigm was used in the Donner study (Parlett, Ayers and Sullivan, 1975; and Linden, Perry, Ayers and Parlett, 1980) which launched the University of Victoria Program in 1972 at British Columbia Penitentiary and Matsqui Institution. It proved to be very cumbersome and inadequate for a number of reasons. The major problem was that experimental and control groups were randomly assigned from volunteers, but these volunteers proved to be quite atypical of the groups in the respective prisons. As a consequence, this limited any findings to the characteristics of the unique volunteer group, thus denying generalization, the basic reason for using the experimental paradigm.

Certainly one-group quasi-experimental designs, such as that proposed by Johnson (1980), can be used when there are a series of discrete short courses with large intakes. Such was not the situation with the U-Vic Program at Matsqui where the intakes are small and at infrequent periods. Thus, conventional experimental designs cannot readily be used for evaluating ongoing programs such as the one conducted for this report.

There were a number of other problems that developed during the Donner study that affected its design and conduct. For example, the conditions under which the Program operated changed significantly, particularly in one institution where the administration allowed the Program students to be located on the same range, thus introducing new social interactions within the student group and changing the convict-keeper relations. Other examples of problems were transfer or release before completion of the Program and refusal of a number of men in the control groups to be post-tested. In consequence, the experimental evaluation fell short of its own tacit claim to be controlled, exact and unambiguous. These and other short-comings reviewed by Parlett and Hamilton (1976) indicate that the experimental psychology paradigm is unsatisfactory for evaluating most educational programs.

An alternative, non-conventional, essentially qualitative or naturalistic evaluation procedure was chosen. Naturalistic evaluation approaches are experiencing a rebirth as viable alternatives to more conventional types of evaluation inquiry. Recent work by Eisner (1979), Stake (1974), Hamilton, et.al. (1977), Guba (1978), and Scriven (1976) has provided the philosophical rationale and methodological guidance for the use of naturalistic inquiry for evaluation purposes. It is certainly not the case that naturalistic evaluation replace more conventional experimental and quasi-experimental approaches, but it must be recognized that there are many settings in which the naturalistic approach permits more sensitivity to changes in time, people, and circumstances. The rationale and methods for naturalistic inquiry are based on procedures derived from the social sciences, particularly ethnography, and the humanities, particularly criticism, rather than the modes of inquiry in psychology and statistics.

Ethnography and criticism both rely upon direct observation of phenomena and are more concerned with description and interpretation than with measurement and prediction. In naturalistic evaluation, there is not a standard methodological package, but a general research strategy that aims to be both adaptable and eclectic. The choice of research procedure follows not from doctrine but from decisions in each case as to the best available technique. The problem defines the methods used, and not vice versa.

In this study it was deemed crucial that the views of the participants be discovered in order to assess the impact of the Program and as the Program occurred in a very complex learning melieu, the most appropriate techniques for determining the effects were interviews and questionnaires. These were, however, supplemented by documentary information, particularly in parole records. Finally, a quasi-experimental approach was used for studying reincarceration by selecting a comparison matched sample to the Program group.

Problems With Naturalistic Evaluations

First encounters with the radically different perspective of nonconventional evaluations prompts a number of important questions. Probably foremost among the questions is usually a concern about the "subjective" nature of the approach. It is suggested that personal interpretations cannot be scientific and that collection, analysis, and reporting of the data is entirely at the discretion of the researchers themselves. Behind such questions lies a basic, but erroneous, assumption that conventional forms of research exist which are immune to prejudice, experimental bias and human error. This is not so. Judgment is necessary at every stage in the choice of samples, in the construction and selection of tests, in deciding the conditions of administration, and so on. Nevertheless, the extensive use of open-ended techniques and qualitative data in the qualitative approaches to evaluation still raises the possibility of gross partiality on the part of the investigator.

The extent to which the researcher has been "objective" should be available for scrutiny in the report stage. In addition to the findings,

accurate descriptions of the research processes can be documented, theoretical principles and methodological ground-rules can be discussed and made explicit and criteria for selecting or rejecting areas of investigation can be spelled out and the evidence can be presented in such a way that others can judge its quality. That was the intent of this report.

A closely related issue is the position of the investigator. There are many arguments, pro and con, for internal and external evaluation. For example, it is believed that external evaluators would have great difficulty in obtaining the cooperation of former students on the street. On the other hand, one could argue that the internal evaluator may only be told what he wants to hear. Being aware of potential difficulties and sensitive to the situations in which the respondent is operating can minimize this possible source of bias. Previous experience with interviewing students in prison has made the researchers aware that under particular circumstances, they can tell you what you want to hear or what they want to accomplish. However, on the street there is no need to purposely change the direction of responses, although there may be some exaggeration due to genuine interest in ensuring that the Program continues. Moreover, there were few refusals to participate and the quotations used throughout the report are characteristically open and straightforward although, of course, supportive of the value of the Program, probably for good reason.

Another problem confronting the evaluator in naturalistic studies such as this, is the fact of self-selection for entrance into the program. The experimental paridigm attempts to obviate this problem with a control group. However, what typically occurs in the prison situation is to use volunteers, but these are self-selected without necessarily knowing the basis on which there was self-selection. In the case of the University of Victoria Program "motivation to join" is undoubtedly a factor that contributes to the success of the University group. It may not be as important as at first glance because all prisoners are regularly required to select work locations. The University program being an ongoing program is simply one of many that are available. In addition most of the

men have reported in the past that they did not enrol initially to get an education but somehow became hooked on education as they learned more and gained confidence or self-esteem. Moreover, the great majority of the men did not have a high school education, thus joining the Program is usually more exploratory than directive.

One could also argue that "tenacity to continue" is another self-selection factor. Experience in the program indicates that for any 10 new students, 4 drop out early in the first month or so, even before they have made much effort to continue. Another 1 or 2 are transferred and about 1 in 10 does not pass a course. This leaves 3 or 4 who complete the first term successfully. It should be noted that very few fail because of low scores on the grade 12 equivalency Tests of General Educational Development (Ayers, 1980a). Tenacity to continue has not been indicated in the interviews that have been conducted with students or with voluntary self-reports to instructors; rather, it is the stimulation and challenge of the courses, the building of self-esteem, and the open interaction with other prisoners and staff that is the usual explanation for continuing. Thus, motivation to join and tenacity to continue may be factors in the selection of the students, but it is believed that institutional practices and program viability minimize these effects. Moreover, in the final analysis such criticisms or limitations are applicable to any other ongoing program operating in the prison.

Finally, one other factor that may have helped to produce positive results for the Eligible Group is the higher educational levels of Program participants than the Matched Group. To what extent this is a factor in the results is difficult to determine. Certainly the great majority, 63 per cent had not completed high school and a number had not completed grade 8. Moreover, the educational characteristics of the Eligible Group are probably more like the typical prisoner entering the system today.

The Crucial Factors

This study has not only shown that the rate of reincarceration is very low for Program participants but that it is 1/3 that of a matched

sample. Moreover, one has only to talk to the former participants of the Program to be convinced that there are significant changes in their perceptions of the world and their roles in it. This appears to be brought about by a process of habilitation, that is by making up for deficits in intellectual, social and moral development throught a program that develops cognitive thinking as a necessary condition for socilization and moral development (Ayers, 1980b).

This position is supported in a recent report by Ross, Currie and Krug-McKay (1950) and by excerpts from a letter by R. R. Ross, Professor of Criminology, University of Ottawa to J. W. Cosman, Director of Education and Training.

> . . . I am becoming more and more convinced that an educational, as opposed to a therapeutic approach, represents the most promising of presently available correctional program approaches. This is not merely a personal bias but a view which is based on my evaluation of the correctional literature during the past several years.
> . . . I began to notice the common threads when I was editing a book Effective Correctional Treatment for Butterworths. As I was putting together the chapters for this book I began to notice that most of the programs which had been demonstrated to be effective in crime prevention and/or offender rehabilitation seemed to share a common element - an educational component which helped the client develop alternative perceptions of his environment and increased his repertoire of problem-solving skills. However, although central to their "treatment" few of the researchers seemed to recognize the importance of these ingredients and tended to view their programs from other frames of reference. The cognitive component of their approaches, which I now think might be the effective component, was typically given

short shrift. The oversight, I think demonstrates that the researchers' sights have been narrowed by their particular professional and theoretical orientation. I think the work that you are doing at Matsqui could be the catalyst for a rapprochement between these independent lines of correctional intervention and research.

# APPENDIX A

## REPORT OF INTERVIEWER

The interviewer had no personal acquaintance with any of the interviewees prior to each interview, neither were any details of the former students' criminal record known. The interviewer therefore went into each interview "blind", free of any preconceptions with regard to the student's crime, sentence, length of participation in the University of Victoria Program, and performance as a student. The interviewer made it clear to each interviewee that she had been hired specifically to carry out the interviewing for the Follow-Up Study and that her position was entirely neutral with regard to the Program.

### Initial Contact With The Interviewee

Initial contact with each interviewee was made by telephone. The interviewer briefly described the purpose of the Follow-Up Study and asked if the person would be willing to be interviewed and complete the questionnaire. Out of 36 men contacted in this manner, only 3 declined to be interviewed. The interviewer was impressed by the co-operative attitude of the rest of the students. Even in the case of one particular student who was upset that his current address was known (he works as an instructor in a small community and feels it would harm his reputation if it became known that he has a criminal record), this person agreed to be interviewed: he explained that this was only out of gratitude to be Program. Gratitude and loyalty to the Program were found to be widespread among former students, and they seemed to outweigh any displeasure or anxiety at discovering that their address and telephone number were known to the interviewer. In not a single instance was the interviewer made to feel intimidated by a former student, even when the person felt that they had suffered an invasion of privacy. One interesting and frequent reaction encountered was the student's curiosity as to the professional qualifications of the interviewer, caused by a concern on the students' part that the Study be carried out in a proficient and professional manner.

It has not always been an easy matter to arrange an interview, even in those cases when the student was willing to be interviewed. Difficulties arose whenever the person was either attending school full-time, or working full-time or at two different jobs, or when the person was going to school and working as well. Only one out of all the students contacted was not either employed or going to school. In some cases the person contacted via a message would leave another message indicating willingness to be interviewed, but then proved subsequently hard to re-contact. Much time was spent in this kind of pursuit. A number of students work away from home, and were hard to contact and arrange an interview with. One interviewee was only available for interview after ten o'clock at night.

Another constraint on progress has been the frequency with which an interviewee, from whom it was hoped we could gain some information as to the whereabouts of another former student, has been unable to supply such information because no further association with other students has been maintained. A number of students said they had tried to avoid contact with former inmates: many students in the sample have moved to another area completely and seem to have formed a new set of friends.

Format of the Interview

The interviewer adopted an unstructured method of interviewing designed to encourage the interviewee to feel as relaxed as possible. With one exception, no time limit was set on any of the interviews. Before showing the questionnaire to the interviewee, the interviewer established a conversational rapport.

The interviewer was impressed by the friendliness of the students, and their willingness to talk about their experiences in the Program and since their release. They appeared to express opinions of the Program without inhibition. Many students were curious to know how the Program is progressing, and asked for news of two of the instructors in particular, Dr. Stephen Duguid and Mr. Henry Hoekema.

Each interview developed according to its own inner momentum,

rather as in a psychoanalytic session, where the subject is encouraged to do the talking, with a minimum of comment by the analyst. As a result each interview developed its own unique format, reflecting the spontaneous thought processes of the interviewee. To some extent this resulted in disparity of interview length, depending on the amount of information forthcoming. The shortest interview took only 25 minutes (the questionnaire was left with the interviewee in this instance); the longest took 3 hours.

Response to the Follow-Up Study

Without exception the interviewees thought that a Follow-Up Study was a good idea. Some even said they thought it was long overdue. There was a fairly widespread feeling among interviewees that the Study might indicate the Program had run into some kind of administrative or financial "trouble". Some students had heard that enrolment in the Program had dropped, and interpreted this to mean that the Program was having problems. The interviewer did not encourage this attitude for fear it would prejudice their responses to the questionnaire.

About six of the interviewees were suspicious of the "situational" questions on the questionnaire, and said they could not understand why the University would want such information. They considered the "perceptual" questions to be more appropriate. Only one out of the six actually refused to answer the "situational" questions. There was some suspicion that these types of questions would be used by the Parole Service.

Given that typical comments by interviewees regarding the Program were that it would be a "crime" to close the Program down, that the Program was "the only good thing about prison" or "the only constructive way of doing time", and that the Program had "saved ones sanity", it is not so surprising that so many former students were willing to participate in the Follow-Up Study. Most of the interviewees were curious to know the results of the Study and asked how they could obtain a copy.

## Interviewees' Views of the UVic Program

Whenever former students talked about the Program they seemed to have in mind not just the academic syllabus but the community at the Academic Centre. Former students talked about feeling different from the rest of the inmate population, of how they continued to form a group outside the confines of the Centre, on the University tier for instance. They talked about an atmosphere distinctive of the Academic Centre which could not be found any where else insde the prison; the interviewer was told that prisoners in their identity as students interacted in different ways from the other inmates and that sometimes they used their influence to defuse potentially violent situations in the prison. Students talked about the opportunity for intelligent, stimulating conversation in the Program, and of being less tense and fearful among students than among other inmates. One former student, currently attending the University of British Columbia, compared the two universities and said that in some respects he felt the UVic Program to be a better education, or educational system. Students in the UVic Program were encouraged to develop critical thinking, and less stress was placed on the competitive aspect of university-level education. Another interviewee, comparing classes in the UVic Program at the University of Victoria proper, mentioned the different amounts of student-interaction in each institution; he said that students in the UVic Program played a much more personal role in each other's progress as students.

## Instructors

A very noticeable feature of the interviews was the interest shown by the students in their former instructors, especially in the two resident members of staff, Dr. Stephen Duguid and Mr. Henry Hoekema. They expressed not only curiousity but in some cases either friendship or warm appreciation. On the whole students spent more time talking about instructors than individual courses they had taken. On the other hand, several interviewees thought that particular courses had helped them find employment after release, and had helped them in

more general ways in the running of their lives. Moreover, on the questionnaires the interviewees have indicated that courses played a preponderant role in effecting changes in their views. It seems that many former students have the impression that a good amount of hostility exists between the U-Vic Program and the rest of the institution and that the resident staff, especially the Resident Coordinator, deserves credit for keeping the Program running.

With regard to the teaching competency of U-Vic staff, many individual staff members were praised for the quality of their teaching. All the students were satisfied that they had received instruction of a high academic standard.

* * * * * *

Of the 65 former students who were eligible for the U-Vic Follow-up Study, 41 were geographically accessible for interviewing and were personally contacted by the interviewer. Up until the end of January, the interviewing progressed at a reasonable rate. By that date, however, it was becoming hard to trace the remaining members of the eligible sample. Reasonably current addresses were obtained for 13 men, all of them living out of geographical range for interviewing purposes. However, only 7 of the questionnaires sent to these people were returned completed, despite repeated phone calls to those for whom a telephone number was available.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA PROGRAM

NAME: _____

Date of Release: _____

Date of Completion of Parole
or Mandatory Supervision: _____

Type of Release: (a) Day Parole:

(b) Maximum Parole:

(c) Mandatory Parole:

1. Are you living in the same area as before your last sentence?

| | Check One |
|---|---|
| In same district, part of city or town . . . . . | ☐ |
| In adjacent district, part of city or town . . . . . | ☐ |
| More than 25 miles away . . . . . | ☐ |
| More than 100 miles away or in a different province . . | ☐ |

2. (a) At present do you:

(Circle & Join)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent | House |
| Own | Apartment |
| | Townhouse |
| Lease | Suite |

(Circle & Join)

| | |
|---|---|
| | Car |
| Own | Boat |
| | Camper |
| | Motorcycle |
| Lease | Van |
| | Truck |

(b) How is this different from before your last sentence?

_____

_____

_____

3. (a) With whom have you lived since release?
(Opposite appropriate relationships on left, fill in dates as exactly as you can remember).

| Relationship | Period of Association | |
|---|---|---|
| | From | To |
| Parents . . . . . | | |
| Wife . . . . . | | |
| Brother or Sister . . . . . | | |
| Other Relative . . . . . | | |
| Former Common Law . . . . . | | |
| New Common Law . . . . . | | |
| Alone . . . . . | | |
| Other ( ) . . . . . | | |
| | | |

3. (b) How is this different from before your last sentence?

_____

_____

_____

4. (a) If you have returned to the family relationship that you had before your last sentence, how are things going compared with before?

Check One:

Better than before . . . . . ☐

About the same as before . . . . . ☐

Worse than before . . . . . ☐

(b) Are the people who are your friends now the same as before your last sentence?

Check One:

Nearly all the same . . . . . ☐

About half the same . . . . . ☐

Very few the same . . . . . ☐

5. (a) What job(s) have you had since release?
(Fill in like sample. Give dates as exactly as you can remember. If unemployed, also indicate period.)

| Type of Job | Location | Period of Employment (or unemployment) From | To |
|---|---|---|---|
| (e.g.) Mill Worker | Campbell River | 15 Jan. 1977 | 20 June 1977 |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

5. (b) In the past year, how many days of holidays have you had? _____

Did you spend them in: Canada Europe U.S. Other ( )

How did you spend them: Skiing Camping Hunting Sightseeing

Visiting Family Visiting Friends

Other ( )

6. Fill in the number of courses you completed in each of the following subjects:

ANTHROPOLOGY ☐ ENGLISH ☐ HISTORY ☐ PSYCHOLOGY ☐ SOCIOLOGY ☐ PHILOSOPHY ☐

THEATRE ☐ SCIENCE ☐ MATHEMATICS ☐ OTHER _____

7. (a) What schooling have you taken since release?

| School | Course or Program | Period of Schooling From | To |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

7. (b) If education was not continued, what best characterizes the reason?

Lack of interest . . . . . .
Financial Difficulties . . . . . .
Family Considerations . . . . . .
Problems in Adjusting to University/College . . . . . .
Other (_____) . . . . . .

8. What language was/is spoken at the home of:

| | English | French | Other (specify) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Your parents . . . . . | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| You and your spouse . . . | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Parents of spouse . . . . | _____ | _____ | _____ |

9. List the occasions in the last six months when you attended:

Movies: _____
Sports Event(s) _____
Dances _____
Theatre _____
Opera _____
Concert _____
Museum _____

10. In a typical week, how many hours do you spend:

| | Hours Per Week |
|---|---|
| Reading . . . . . | _____ |
| Gardening . . . . . | _____ |
| Watching T.V. . . . . | _____ |
| Repair Work . . . . . | _____ |
| Playing Sports . . . . . | _____ |
| In a pub . . . . . | _____ |

11. Explain in a few sentences how the U-Vic program had an impact, if any, on your perceptions of each of the following:

| Nature of Impact | Check if Changes were due mainly to: (rank 1-2-3) Fellow Students | Courses/Readings | Instructor |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) Basic human nature | | | |
| (b) Marital Relations | | | |
| (d) Household Management | | | |
| (e) Family Relations | | | |
| (f) Friendship | | | |

11. Continued -

Explain in a few sentences how the U-Vic program had an impact, if any, on your perceptions of each of the following:

| | Nature of Impact | Check if Changes were due mainly to: Fellow Students | Courses/Readings | Instructor |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (g) Criminal Behavior | | | | |
| (h) Politics | | | | |
| (i) Business | | | | |
| (j) Religion | | | | |
| (k) Race | | | | |

12. Who helped you most in prison? Rank the first three.

| | Rank |
|---|---|
| Psychologist . . . . . | ____ |
| Classification Officer . . . . . | ____ |
| Counselor . . . . . | ____ |
| Living Unit Officer . . . . . | ____ |
| U-Vic Staff . . . . . | ____ |
| Other Teachers . . . . . | ____ |
| Fellow Students . . . . . | ____ |
| Other Prisoners . . . . . | ____ |
| Custody Officer . . . . . | ____ |
| Visitors . . . . . | ____ |
| Chaplain . . . . . | ____ |
| Other (Fill in _____) . . . . | ____ |

13. Did your participation in the U-Vic program have any influence on your employment decisions, including:

(a) Your choice of employment: _____

_____

_____

_____

(b) Obtaining employment: _____

_____

_____

_____

(c) Avoiding certain types of employment: _____

_____

_____

_____

14. To what extent were post-release plans that were made while in the program acted upon after release?

Which plans are still in the making:

What are the main difficulties you are encountering in realizing these plans?

15. List recommended changes to the U-Vic program and your reasons:

16. Did the program have an impact on the way you view power relations between people, and between people and institutions? How?

17. Do you have any additional comments you wish to make?

SAMPLE INTERVIEW

Interview 11

October 29

Length of interview: 45 mins.

This interviewee agreed to meet me without any hesitation. When I arrived I explained the purpose of the survey. Edward said that he hoped the Program was not going to close down; he said it would be "a crime" if it did, because in his opinion it is the only good thing going for Matsqui. We read the questionnaire over before he wrote anything down; his reaction was that it would require a lot of thought, so we agreed he should keep a copy and I am going to pick it up later in the week.

With regard to specific questions on the form, he said certain questions didn't seem relevant in his case: referring to 3 (a) and (b) and 4 (a). I suggested that if he was going to write "not applicable" that he add a note to explain why not. He asked me to clarify question 16, particularly the term "power relations."

He was interested in seeing the list of interviewees, and asked which of the students had gone on to college or university. He said that he was no longer in touch with any former students in the Abbotsford Program. We spent quite a long time talking about his experiences of going to school after release. He told me that he had got a job after leaving Matsqui, which he has had ever since. At first the hours he was working allowed him to take courses in math and commerce at SFU. Then he had to work a different shift, which meant he had to drop out of the course. He said that he is trying to get some kind of assurance from his employers that his shift will not be changed again, as he wishes to re-register at SFU. He also mentioned that he might even look for a different job to avoid this kind of clash.

On the subject of former students at Matsqui going to school after release, he said that it was too much to expect of them to become full-time students on just a loan or grant, as they could not endure "life

in a garret" somewhere under the conditions tolerated by some students. He said it was crucial that they get a job, or financial security, first. I mentioned the idea of starting a half-way house at Matsqui, and he said this was an excellent idea (he also mentioned that it was already being talked about when he was in the Program - three years ago - and he thought it would already have been set up).

The kind of courses he has been taking at SFU are those not available at Abbotsford (math, commerce, finance), and he said he would be writing on the questionnaire that he thought this type of course might be added to the program, and possibly other courses in the pure science and engineering (though he acknowledged that there would be a problem getting lab facilities for these courses). He said that when he was in the program he had asked about commerce courses and been told they were not in demand. He said that the courses offered were fine, but didn't give much hope of a job at the end.

He described the kind of schedule he had had to cope with so as to be able to go to school and work at the same time; this involved approximately three hours' travel each day. He was genuinely regretful to have had to drop out and wants to enroll as soon as it becomes feasible again.

This interviewee asked if the questionnaire was the same as Dr. Ayers' "moral questionnaires", in that it was intended for the government. I told him that it was primarily for use by the program staff, but that a statistical report based on the material on the questionnaires would be made available to the government. He said the Solicitor-General's office wastes a lot of money on less worthwhile causes.

On the subject of the half-way house within the prison, he said that the crucial factor in transition from prison to normal life was peer-pressure; that it could keep someone to the plan he had devised while in prison, whereas a man suddenly on his own was vulnerable to pressure from other sources hostile to his aims.

# APPENDIX B

CASE STUDIES

The following case studies were prepared from information collected during interviews and in researching the men's files. The five men selected are typical of the various types of offenders in the U-Vic Program. The first, "Tom", is a young man with a consistent record of drug offence, coupled with an increasing tendency toward use of weapons and violent crime. "Len", an older man, is typical in many ways of the career criminal with a long record of offences. The third case study, "Sam", is an example of a situational offender, a man who has a record of turning to crime in response to personal and economic pressure. "Sean's" record is similar in many ways to the large number of heroin addicts in the Program, consistent offences all related to drug possession or trafficking. Finally, "Jim" represents the more educated man of essentially middle class background who became involved in drugs in the 1960's and has turned from drug use to dealing in drugs as an occupation.

"Tom"

- 26 years old
- grade 10 education
- common law/now separated
- heroin addiction
- record of major offences:

1971 - BE&T
1972 - Poss Narc
1974 - Poss Narc
1975 - Theft/False Pretences
1976 - Poss Narc/Theft
1976 - Poss Narc/Armed Robbery

The most remarkable aspect of "Tom's" life since release from prison is the completeness of his break from the past. He stresses the crucial role of this decision in his interview, "... you have to make a clean break, or else get entangled in the same circle again". He is working full-time as a salesman, raising his daughter, spends most of his free time in sports activities, and maintains contact with only two former students from the University Program. There is no indication of any return to heroin or other drugs.

"Tom" was in the University of Victoria Program for one year and attained good marks, but was not a brilliant student. While he does not concede much to the Program in terms of attitude change, he says that it " . . . saved my sanity by providing a means of dealing constructively with a high level of stress". He attempted to go to university after release but in the end was not really interested. His life now revolves around work and raising his daughter.

"Tom" is in a great many ways typical of several men in the Interviewed Group. His criminal record was consistent and growing in seriousness. He joined the University Program primarily to avoid harsher or more boring parts of the prison. The University Program is seen as an "island", a place to do something constructive in an otherwise wasted period of life. While outwardly maintaining that he is not "changed" in any fundamental way, his responses to particulars in the questionnaire indicate a considerable process of growth. Above all, he has stayed out of prison for two years and avoided all contact with the law. In contrast to previous times, a decision was made to change behaviour, a decision made in the context of the prison experience and the university experience. Like several other students, "Tom" explains his ability to make this decision and stick to it as being the result of his not being embittered upon release. That frame of mind, in turn, he attributes solely to his participation in the University Program.

"Len"

- 35 years old
- grade 10 education
- married/divorced
- no drug addiction
- record of major offences:

1964 - Theft/Wilful damage
1965 - Theft/Assault
1965 - BE&T
1966 - Theft
1967 - BE&T, BE&I
1968 - BE&T
1969 - Assault/BE&I
1971 - Mischief
1972 - Poss of weapon/Traff Narc
1975 - Robbery

"Len" is in many ways a good example of a "career" or "professional" criminal. He spent three terms in reform school as a youth and from age 19 on engaged in a consistent and increasing pattern of criminal behaviour. He was seldom out of prison and when in prison was seen as a leader, one of the "heavies" in the prison population. He first enroled in the University Program in 1973 and stuck with it through several transfers and one aborted escape until when finally released in 1979 he was only three courses short of graduation.

His academic performance in the Program was always of high quality, leading the Program staff to have high expectations of him, but at the same time he showed a stubborn unwillingness to shift from a strong allegiance to criminal attitudes while in prison. He was regarded as a manipulative individual, one who used the Program to establish credibility with the parole board and at the same time to do "easy time" while in prison. Within the Program he was a high profile student, a spokesman for student affairs and a tutor for new students.

"Len" has been out of prison for one year, the longest period of freedom since 1967. He works full-time as a counsellor to former prisoners in a small institutional setting. It is his first experience of non-labouring work and he says that he would not be equipped for this kind of work had he not been a student in the University of Victoria Program. He has made arrangements to finish his BA degree this year, but has not established any clear career goals to date. He maintains close contact with his former instructors in the Program and generally shows more maturity of thought and behaviour since release than was evident while in the Program. This is thought to be the result of the role he had defined for himself within the institutional setting, a role not necessary outside of that setting.

The prognosis for "Len" remaining a free man seems good. He has a new network of friends, a job that gives him a sense of pride and short range goals that provide some purpose to his activities. In part this can be credited to the effects of the University Program and in part to the whole pattern of his life. Much more in control of his life than many others in the group interviewed, he seems to have chosen to break the escalating pattern of criminal behaviour, knowing that unless he did so prison would be his home for increasing lengths of time.

"Sam"

- 40 years old
- grade 9 education
- divorced/now common law
- no drug addiction
- record of major offences:

1965 - Armed Robbery
1975 - Armed Robbery

"Sam's" infrequent but serious criminal activity seems to stem from his childhood and adolescent experience, a time which left him with a poor sense of self-esteem and poor role models for adult behaviour. His mother was married four times, had an alcohol problem and is now deceased. His father married twice and has had no contact with "Sam" for fifteen years. "Sam" has fourteen brothers and sisters from these various unions. As a juvenile he was in constant conflict with authority, convicted of theft at age 9, fighting with a weapon at age 12, car theft at 15 and drunk/mischief at 17. Subsequently he joined the Armed Forces and was given a dishonourable discharge.

As an adult "Sam" worked at various occupations from labourer to truck driver, supporting a wife and three children. His robberies were all connected with his desire to satisfy economic needs at home and, according to him, meet the increasing material aspirations of his wife. In 1974, "Sam" began taking courses at a community college in an attempt to qualify for a higher paying type of employment but his unstable marriage and financial pressures proved too much. He responded to these pressures by committing a robbery, for which he was sent to prison.

When he entered the University of Victoria Program in 1975, "Sam" was already highly motivated and proceeded to use the offerings of that Program to work toward goals he had been unable to accomplish outside. While in prison he obtained a divorce. After release, he returned for a while to the same kind of work as before, determined to provide for his children. Through a contact with one of the instructors in the University Program, an opportunity to work for a local college in a program aimed at young "unemployables" came up. He was reluctant to pass up the

economic security of his trucking job for the temporary academic position, but was persuaded to do so by friends and former instructors. After a term he was hired full time in the program and has found a new vocation. He continues to study part time and plans to graduate in the near future.

When interviewed for the follow-up study, he expressed almost unqualified praise for the University Program, saying it had a "decisive effect on his own development", and that without the Program he could never have obtained his present position. His ambition in life? "To become as ordinary as possible". For a man of his background this position and goal has involved a considerable psychological and social challenge, since, at age 40, he has no experience of this kind of work or of the type of people who are now his colleagues. "Sam" now works regularly with young people, college instructors, officials in the corrections and social services fields, and is on the Board of Directors of a halfway house society. He continues to help support his children plus a new family of his own and in every visible way is a responsible citizen. While he was motivated to attempt all this before, the University Program clearly gave him the means to raise his sense of self-esteem and realize his goal of social advancement.

"Sean"

- 35 years old
- grade 10 education
- married/divorced/common law/separated
- heroin addict
- record of major offences:

1967 - Assault
1968 - Traff
1970 - Poss
1971 - False Pretences
1972 - Theft, B&E
1974 - Traff Heroin, Theft
1975 - Poss/Traff

"Sean" is an intelligent and personable man whose involvement with narcotics has led to consistent conflict with the law and incarceration. He first enroled in the University of Victoria Program in 1975, completed one term with excellent marks, was paroled later that year and

returned to prison in 1976. In the short time he was out, he managed to complete one course at a local community college, indicating an early interest in upgrading his education outside of prison as well as inside. Once back in prison, he enroled in the University Program again, completing a full year of courses, again with excellent marks.

His initial motivation for entering the Program was to "get something back" from the prison and to "improve his image with the parole board". During this year "Sean's" attitude seemed to shift from these diffident and somewhat manipulative reasons to an attitude that was more purposeful. He was very self-reflective and interested in helping younger men avoid the errors and faulty decisions that he had made and after taking several courses in psychology and sociology he decided to aim for a careet in Social Work. With this aim in mind, he applied for parole to attend university in Victoria. He was granted day parole for that program in early 1979.

"Sean" left the University Program with high hopes and considerable apprehension, feelings shared by most of the other students in the Program. He was aware that if he failed to stay off heroin after release he would be unable to succeed at school. He deliberately went to Victoria because he did not know anyone there and wanted to remain as anonymous as possible. "Sean's" easy going nature was seen by himself and his fellow students as his biggest potential problem, leading to involvement with old friends and hence a return to crime. He felt that the Program had helped him in this regard, creating a rift between himself and his former friends who had not had the same experience. On his questionnaire, "Sean" wrote " . . . it is difficult to spend much time with a lot of ex-friends. I like some of them, but find at times that I risk being dragged in the 'old lifestyle'. It seems hard now to spend a lot of time with someone who is not doing something meaningful".

One year after the move to Victoria, "Sean" was back in jail. He had done quite well in his first term and had worked over the summer to save enough for the next year. His instructors and fellow students at the university thought very highly of him and all seemed to be going well. There was no indication that drugs were a problem. Then a serious family crisis occurred and his grades began to suffer. Four months later it was discovered that "Sean" was in jail awaiting trial on a B&E charge, for which he was subsequently sentenced to one year. He had met an old

friend, gotten drunk and says that from that point on he remembers nothing. What he had feared most, and had avoided for a year, had happened.

"Jim"

- 32 years old
- grade 12 education
- widowed/now married
- heroin addiction
- record of major offences:

  1970 - Poss Narc
  1974 - Manslaughter/Poss stolen prop

"Jim" fits very few of the criteria usually held to be typical of the criminal. He comes from a stable family of middle class standing. He graduated from high school and started university, dropping out before completing any courses. He seems to have become caught up in the "drug culture" of the 1960's, moved on to heroin and eventually serious criminal activity. As a youth, however, he did spend two terms in reform school, his first conviction coming at age 16.

He entered the University of Victoria Program in 1976 as a transfer student from a college program at another institution. He was primarily interested in psychology and wished to eventually acquire a Master's degree and become a clinical counsellor with juvenile delinquents. While in the University Program "Jim" remained somewhat of an outsider, not being particularly interested in the Program's emphasis on English and History.

While in prison "Jim" also became very active in a social service organization, an interest he has kept up with since release and used to forge a new series of friendships and activities which result in an almost complete break with his past. He is working at a variety of labouring type jobs at the moment, waiting for the right opportunity to move into his true area of interest. He is married to a woman he met through his social service activities and is about to become a father. He survived the immediate post-release period of "high-living" and has settled into a very moderate and calm life-style.

When interviewed, "Jim" showed a general reluctance to concede much to the University Program in terms of attitude or value change. He saw the primary effect, for him, being quantitative rather than qualitative. In this sense he clearly saw himself as an exception to most of his fellow students in that he was already in possession of the personal skills needed to succeed at academic work and cope with society. While he shared most of the material problems of other ex-prisoners upon release, he did not see himself as facing the same potential difficulties in solving those problems.

In this self-defined position as the "other", "Jim" talked quite openly about the impact of the University Program on the students. In discussing the factors surrounding the decision not to return to criminal activity despite the opportunity and perhaps economic need, he saw one of the important factors being derived from new mental attitudes or habits acquired through the period of school work: the habit, for instance, of considering alternatives, weighing different lines of action, and so forth. As well, he saw the experience of being a student as having an important impact on a person's self-image. This came not only from academic success, but from merely putting oneself to the test, e.g., to reach a certain grade in order to pass a course. He referred as well to the general effect of the environment withing the Academic Centre, the fact that it is the only place in the prison where authority is not supposed to be unchallengeable. He thought the absence of enforcement and emphasis on self-help and self-reliance were positive factors in helping men cope with authority, in particular encouraging them to discriminate between different kinds of authority, and react accordingly.

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